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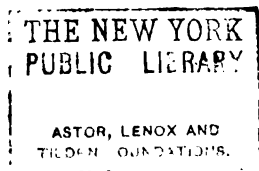
ASTOR, LENOX AND  
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

·                    *MOORISH EMIKS BEFORE CHARLES IN PADERBORN.*

William B. Johnson

ESQ.

NEW YORK



A  
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OF  
GERMANY,

FROM THE  
EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT DAY.

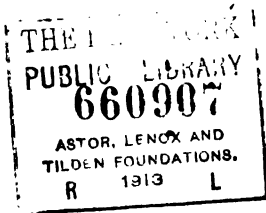
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WITH OVER 600 ILLUSTRATIONS BY EMINENT GERMAN ARTISTS.

TRANSLATED BY  
HUGH CRAIG, M.A., TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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## BOOK II.

*FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REIGN  
OF CHARLEMAGNE TO THE REIGN  
OF THE SALIAN EMPERORS.*



# HISTORY OF GERMANY.

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## CHAPTER I.

**CHARLES THE GREAT (CHARLEMAGNE)—THE BROTHERS CARLOMAN AND CHARLES—CHARLES AND HIS FIRST THREE MARRIAGES—HIS MOTHER BERTHA AND THE LOMBARD KING DESIDERIUS—FIRST CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE SAXONS—HIS MARCH ACROSS THE ALPS—CHARLES KING OF THE FRANKS AND LOMBARDS.**

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IPIN'S wife was the daughter of a Frank noble, Charibert (Heribert), Count of Laon. The family, the birth, and the form of no German prince, nay, of none of the world except the Caliph un Al-raschid, have been the centre of such a rich and varied circle of sagas as Charles the Great. In the popular traditions of the French, as well as in those of the Germans, the sagas of the great Charles the Frank, still survive after ten centuries. Early, even during his lifetime, popular poetry had taken possession of the life and deeds of this emperor of the Germans; the poems of the Middle Ages, on both sides of the Channel, continued the strain of poetry, and in the nineteenth century, poets, bards of the song, have celebrated him in poems which are in every mouth. Bertha (Bertrada) was the name of the mother of Charles; but in the tradition she does not remain the daughter

of the Count of Laon, but is poetically

imagined to be a princess of the East, a princess of Hungary, a daughter of King Florence and Queen Blanche fleur, that is, of the red and white rose. She thus

survives in French legend; in German she is the daughter of King Flower and Queen Whiteflower. But at the same time she survives in some sagas as a woman of a higher kind and power, as an original Swanmaiden.

In the faith of our ancestors, Swanmaidens were of human descent by the father's side, but of higher descent by the mother's side; and, according to this faith, the Swanmaidens have power to bestow on those whom they loved safety and victory in battle. Even in the time of Charles the Great, and for centuries thereafter, the Germans fully believed in the Valkyrier, the choosers of the slain, of whom the heroic legends of the German north sang; in those unsubstantial figures of old heathen religion, with their swan-robcs which they always had with them to enable them at any moment to fly away as swans; in the charmed blessings by which they bestowed victory on their favorites, while, clad in the swan-robe, they hovered, singing, over their heads during the battle.

Even at the beginning of this century, in those provinces which had been the seats of the old Alemanni and Swabians, "Frau Bertha" was not merely one of the "choosers of the slain," who bestowed victory, but a spinner, a beneficent domestic spirit, an apparition of kindly nature, and only exhibiting anger when disorder reigned in the house.

That this cardinal virtue of old German life, the housewifely art of spinning, was no fable, but a noble fact in the case of the mother of Charles, is proved by the great emperor, the son of this Bertha, always wearing garments which his own wife and daughters had spun. The romantic glow and perfume which the poets of the Middle Ages have flung around the name of Bertha, are inferior to the true glory of this noble German matron, who, in contrast to the frivolous lives of the Romanic women in Italy and the Frank kingdom, presented, in her own life, a model of a German housewife—a model of simple, universally active housewifery.

Feeling the approach of death, Pipin wished that the kingdom might be divided between his two sons Charles and Carloman; he complied with the national usages, and procured their election in a general diet of the kingdom. Maternal affection must have been active here, for otherwise the politic father would certainly have retained the kingdom as a unit under one head. Carloman was not satisfied with having half the kingdom; he had the south, Charles the north, and as Charles's share seemed the larger, he envied his brother. Yet the "hatred and envy" of Carloman which Charles, according to the testimony of Einhard (Eginhard), had to endure, and which he bore with great patience, might have been caused by something else than the unequal division of the kingdom; it may have arisen in the circumstance that Charles was the favorite of all the Franks. In ambition and strong self-consciousness, Carloman resembled his brother, but was unlike him in intellectual endowments or hero-like force.

The government of two brothers of different characters was a bad beginning. The weaknesses of Carloman were misused and misguided by his courtiers after the usual fashion of courts. All far-seeing nobles of the Franks now repented of what they

had done at the last diet to please Pipin, to please their dying king, especially this partition of the kingdom, these two kingdoms in one.

For a mere falsehood is the statement of most histories, and those not merely ultramontane or reactionary, that Charles and his brother became kings by the principle of legitimacy, by a kind of hereditary succession, and "by the grace of God." All such statements are not merely untrue, but mere fictions; even under the anointed King Pipin, the relation of the king to the people of the Franks was in no wise altered. After, as before, the royal power rested wholly and solely on contract, on election by the diet, or rights which the elected king received, and duties which he undertook. After the Papal anointing, the kingdom remained a legally limited constitutional kingdom. The "kingdom by the grace of God" of the Popes and the Byzantines was always something incomprehensible and repugnant to the Franks, as far as this religious ceremony would prejudice their old national right of electing their princes by representatives, and the old national contract between prince and people, and would make an absolute monarch out of their elected king. The contemporary Eginhard expressly says, "Charles and his brother were elected by the representatives of all the Franks, on certain definite points of contract which the elected had to assent to, and did assent to; they succeeded their father by the assent (*nutu*) of God who had called him out of this life." This word *nutu*, some translated freely, some servilely, the latter only in later days, as if Eginhard had said, "They inherited from their father the kingdom by the grace of God."

Even the partition of the kingdom was not carried out by King Pipin, but by the representatives of the Franks in diet assembled on the 3d of October, 768, eleven days after Pipin's death. There the election, there the contract was made, there they both, according to old German use and wont, formally, by express testimony, were "raised on the shield and placed on the throne." The national assembly did not wish to divide the country, but only the administration of the kingdom. The results of the partition soon appeared when Wolf (Lupus), Waisar's successor in the southwestern frontier dukedom, revolted, and, in 769, made his country again independent. Carloman refused to assist in the subjugation of this prince. But Charles marched alone against the revolt, defeated them, and returned with such an opinion of his brother as must have produced a civil war, if their mother, the widowed Queen Bertha, who had great influence over Charles, had not allayed his wrath, and if death had not soon after intervened, and, on the 4th of December, 771, removed Carloman from the world, at Samoucy, near Laon.

Carloman left two sons a few years old, and a young widow, Gilberga. Immediately after his death, almost all the nobles, spiritual and temporal dignitaries of the court, and the counts who had served her husband, passed over to Charles, and the Queen Gilberga was so deserted that she saw but few liegemen near her. The national assembly of all the Franks declared Charles sole king of the whole kingdom. The assembly wished to ensure the unity of the kingdom. The experience of the last three years and a half had taught them how unsafe a division of the kingdom was,

and recommended a return to the rule of one king; since it had been proved to be a delusion that a kingdom could maintain its unity with two governors of its territories. All, gentle and simple, had felt the disadvantage of two administrations, and likewise saw the difference between having Charles for king or his weak brother Carloman.

When the widow of the latter, Gilberga, heard that the national assembly of the Franks had decided in favor of Charles, and for the good of the whole people—that there was to be one kingdom under one king, and had left no prospect even of one of Carloman's sons succeeding him on his throne, she took her two sons and her daughter and fled to Desiderius, king of the Lombards. Few nobles and a small following accompanied her over the Alps to Italy. Among them, Ottker (Autcharis) was the most illustrious, one of the heroes of the Frank army.

No injustice had been done either to Gilberga or her children. Even with the best wishes in the world, the Franks could not have given to one of her sons an election to the throne of their father, because, according to Frank law, sons in their nonage, that is, not fifteen years old, were incapable of succeeding, and no election could do anything for them. She was not a daughter of King Desiderius, as men thought—she only wished to escape from the Franks; a young inexperienced woman, she had ever in her eyes the murders of princes in the Merovingian and Burgundian houses, as related in their terrible legends and lays. She erroneously dreaded, from the rude, wild strength of her brother-in-law Charles, a like fate for herself, vengeance on her for the hostile attitude and envy which Carloman her husband had openly displayed before his death. The recollection, too, of what Pipin had done to his brother rose up in her memory.

With Charles the Great there begins a new chapter of European history, not merely of the history of the German nations. Charles was a wonderful, highly-gifted character of colossal magnitude; none like him has, down to to-day, sat on a Christian throne, great at once as emperor and as man, as general and as statesman. But as king, as man in all the parts of his unusually long reign, especially in his youth and age, he had dark shadows, shadows such that he had need of the imperial mantle that these shadows might not prejudice his greatness, unique in its way.

In his first youth Charles retained still much of the violent nature of the old Norse "Recken"; and it is probable that the Church took care not to develop, by means of Romanic culture, the extraordinary endowments which soon appeared in the boy, and thus render him too dangerous to the Papal See. Extraordinary abilities in princes have never been cultivated by the Papal See; and German history knows only one example to the contrary, the careful training which the amiable and accomplished Innocent III. bestowed on his tenderly-loved ward, the Emperor Frederick II. of Hohenstaufen, the orphan son of the Norman princess Constantia.

The first and greatest emperor of the German nation was left to grow up at his father's court, without any intellectual training—without even the first rudiments of reading or writing. Charles the Great learnt to write, with great efforts, when he was growing old.

Darkness lies on the childhood and early years of the youth of Charles, and poetical legends have taken possession of them. The imagination of the German Middle Ages, especially the troubadours, half German, half Romanic, in southern France, and, later, the poets of pure German blood, have invented in poetic play motley legends of all kinds about "Emperor Charles and his Paladins," without any historical foundation; and we may therefore assume that the legends of the birth of Charles, especially those in a manuscript of the thirteenth century, are purely poetical fancies. In the ancient abbey of Saint Stephen, near Freisingen in Bavaria, the oldest "legend of the birth and youth of Charles the Great" is found; according to it, and to a second legend from the same neighborhood, Charles was the pledge of generous but secret love, and grew to boyhood, not at a royal court, but abroad in a distant country in unrestrained freedom in a lonely vale. Distinguished historical investigators look on these two legends as at least not improbable, and Eginhard, the favorite of Charles, in his biography in which he glorifies his imperial benefactor, has left to us the remarkable expression: "Of the birth and childhood of Charles, and of his boyhood, nothing documentary exists, and I found among the survivors no one who could give me any information respecting it. I have, therefore, passed over a period when the truth was no longer to be obtained." These words point to the fact that immediately after the death of Charles, legends and tales respecting the mother, the birth, the childhood of the great emperor were current at the court and among the people, tales in which it was impossible to discover how much truth lay buried.

Not even the place where the emperor was born is known. In the present century the Royal Belgian Academy of Sciences offered a prize for the determination of his birthplace. But the essay, although crowned by the Academy, and other treatises down to the present day, only prove that nothing is known for certain of the birthplace of Charles. A series of places claim the glory of being the cradle of the greatest of all emperors. According to some, his birthplace was Paris, or a castle near to Paris; according to others, Gross-Varghel on the Unstrutt in Thuringia; according to others, even Brabant. The Dutch writer Van Beek claims the honor for Jupil, near Liege. The castle of Carlsberg, on the Wurmsee in Bavaria, the so-called Ricemill near the Abbey of Holy Stephen, also claims the honor; as do Worms on the Rhine, Ingelheim on the Rhine, and the old city of Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle).

It has been lately assumed that very probably the district of Liege was the land of his birth, although the spot remains unascertained. Charles often kept the feast of Easter in Jupil, near Liege, far from his usual favorite dwellings; and his birthday, that is, the most probable day for his birth, falls in the season of Easter. He perhaps visited Jupil at the time of his birthday, because it was his birthplace.

In favor of Ingelheim as his birthplace, we have the tradition transmitted for centuries by the lips of the people. Charles loved exceedingly Ingelheim, and, when emperor, he built, on the soft slopes above the glassy Rhine, a fair palace, where he loved to dwell, often and long. This palace was styled the Pfalz of Kaiser Karl down to the seventeenth century, an object of reverence to the people on both sides



of the Rhine. In the year 1689, the bastard descendants of the old Franks came with fire and sword, and what even the rudest times of the Middle Ages had spared as a holy spot, was destroyed under the banners of the bigoted libertine Louis XIV., who wished to be deemed the most cultivated and refined prince of his age. A few fragments of pillars still stand lonely, apparently without support; but the winds and the modern spirit show them more respect than those foreigners. Ingelheim, two miles from Mainz, lies opposite Johannisberg; and, if Charles was not born here, he at all events, by certain testimony, spent much of his early life here.

But of all cities, Charles dearly loved Aachen, or Aix-la-Chapelle, and thither he returned after his journeyings through his wide empire. Possibly Aix was his cradle—undoubtedly he chose it for the resting-place of his bones.

The year, the month, the day of his birth are as much subjects of dispute as the place; as far as we can ascertain, Charles the Great was born on the 2d of April, 742.

We know on good authority that Charles, in his eleventh year, was sent to welcome the Pope on the frontier; that in his twelfth year he was anointed as future king by the same Pope; that in his nineteenth year he distinguished himself in the field, and that his father early introduced him to the business of government. Charles grew up, like other noble Franks, in the exercise of all his physical powers, in hunting and the practice of arms, but without higher instruction. To nourish and extend the religious feelings, the formal piety of the boy, the clergy of his father's court had shown a lively interest; but at the same time, as such churchmen deal with young princes, they gave unrestrained liberty to the lusts of the flesh, which were strong in him. Hence, in his early manhood and in his later domestic life arose dark clouds, which overshadowed his glory and his kingdom.

The influence of his mother, Bertha, was not good when he came to the throne. She was a woman full of ambitious plans, who sacrificed to policy, that is, to her fancy of what was the common weal, everything, the plighted word of her son, the commands of religion, the moral conscience of the Frank nation. The misfortune of Charles was that he loved his mother too dearly, and in his youth followed her advice, at first, indeed, only in affairs of the house or the heart (which, however, were of great political importance); and what Bertha span in these matters turned out very unlucky for her and others.

The dissensions between Charles and his brother Carloman had some roots in the domestic relations of Charles to his two first wives. It was at Seltz, in Alsace, where Bertha brought the two brothers to a conference, and, with great trouble, made peace between them. From Seltz she went to Bavaria to her nephew Thassilo, then through Bavaria to Italy. She wished to be a peace-maker everywhere, but without regarding God's commands; and from her actions arose sorrow and anguish, war and ruin for those whom she labored to benefit.

Her journey to Italy had no other object than the divorce of her son Charles from his lawful wife, and his union with a daughter of the Lombard king Desiderius. Charles had, in early life, been married to a noble Frank lady. His first love was

named Himiltrude. A son was born from this marriage, named Pipin, after his grandfather—afterwards, to distinguish them, called the hunchbacked. Himiltrude had borne this son before the religious ceremony of marriage. The new king of the Lombards, Desiderius, sought a family connection with the great royal house of the Franks; he hoped by this means to live in friendship with the Franks, and to deprive the Papal See of their support. Pope Stephen III. soon heard the plan of the Lombard, and that Bertha had been gained over to it. Bertha conceived the idea of uniting by love the kingdom of the Franks and the Lombards; she fancied, as many queens still do, that intermarriage was a cement which would bind together conflicting interests. The Pope saw clearly that if such an alliance between the Frank and Lombard courts took place, the Papal See would be still more exposed to the attacks of the Lombards, from whom he had suffered enough already.

But Bertha had not merely one marriage in view when she went from Seltz through Bavaria to the Italian court, was magnificently entertained, and learnt to know Adalgis, the son of the king. Charles had a beautiful and talented sister, Gisela, who was more inclined to the peace of the convent, in which she had been brought up, than to the life of royal courts. Under the name of Itisberga, she is still honored as a saint by the Church of Rome. The emperor of Constantinople had first sought her hand for his son Leo IV.; but the queen-mother was enthusiastic for a double marriage of Charles with a Lombard princess, of Gisela with a Lombard prince. Charles must marry the daughter, Gisela the son of the Lombard king.

Adalgis was a noble-spirited youth, an actual hero in the eyes of Franks as well as Lombards. Gisela was the only sister of her beloved brother Charles, who as yet had done nothing to displease her, the only daughter of her mother Bertha; the others, Rothraud and Adelaide, were dead. Adalgis himself was anxious to marry Gisela.

Pope Stephen was almost beside himself at the news that this double marriage was planned. In terror at the dangers which this scheme concealed for the Holy See, Pope Stephen, a Roman, a despiser of the Germans, whose hands and swords he dreaded, wrote to the two kings of the Franks a letter which still dishonors his memory—a letter ridiculously base and vulgar.

To prevent the double marriage, the Pope, in this letter, in 770, calls the noble descendants of the old Suevian stock, the Lombards, “the most stinking folk of the world—a horde who ought not to be reckoned among the nations; leprosy was endemic among them; the race of lepers came from them.”

Cultivation, politeness, high tone were on this occasion to be found among the Lombards, not with the Pope and his monks. Stephen declared such thoughtless loosing and binding of the marriage tie were sins against the Church; he threatened them with excommunication. But twinges of conscience had less power over Charles than love for his mother and perhaps satiety with the charms of Himiltrude; he divorced her, and Bertha hurried on his marriage with the Lombard princess Adalberga, but not that of Gisela with Adalgis (Adelchis).

Although Adalgis was brave and strong, a hero who rode into battle with an iron bar, who had slain so many enemies that Frank and Lombard all sung his praises, and although he was already regent with his father, yet Gisela could not be induced to be the future queen of the Lombards, any more than previously could she be induced to become the Greek empress, and possess the gardens of Constantinople. Her heart was given to Heaven—if not to the external practices of religion; to the quiet work of love which tends the sick and needy, and—to books. There are many letters to her extant from the noble and learned Anglo-Saxon Alcuin, the trusted friend of her brother. Instead of mounting a throne, the maid of fourteen entered the convent of Chelles on the Marne, four miles from Paris, and took the veil.

Scarcely had the marriage-knot been tied between Charles and Adalberga than it was again dissolved, without any fault on her side. He left her after the priests, among whom the physicians of the day were to be found, had declared her “dead”; they had represented to him that she would neither conceive nor bear children.

Eginhard shows how innocent Adalberga was: “It is not known why he parted from her.” Eginhard passed over, from regard to the memory of his friend, whatever Charles himself would have wished obliterated from the recollection of mankind. Charles had thoughtlessly, to please his mother, and hurriedly, without seeing her, taken Adalberga as his wife. The Lombard princess did not satisfy either his eye, wide open to female beauty, or his heart, thirsting for female love. Adalberga was a highly educated, noble-hearted lady, but too cold for the fiery Charles; a lady of worth, and certainly without the defect imagined by the clergy, as she proved in her second marriage. Charles himself, in later years, in the time of his matrimonial felicity with another, studied zealously to show the world publicly that he esteemed the divorced Adalberga. In the misfortunes which befell the kingdom of the Lombards, he treated well all who stood in near connection with Adalberga when they fell into his power in the war; and exhibited remarkable kindness to Arighis, duke of Benevento, whose wife Adalberga had become after her divorce, and to Grimoald her son.

Adalberga, repudiated by Charles, returned to her father, and Charles married, soon afterwards in the same year, a daughter of Swabia, Hildegard.

The Papal court had set everything in motion to tear asunder the family alliance between the kingly houses of the Franks and the Lombards. Yet it was not the threat of excommunication by the Papal See on account of the marriage of the Lombard princess; it was not policy telling him he needed the Pope to aid him in his progress on the path of his father; it was not the opinion of the clerical physicians which determined Charles to part from his Lombard spouse.

What determined him was that he was consumed with an ardent passion for Hildegard, the proud and noble Swabian maiden who rejected his love unless she became his wife by the ordinances of the Church.

Hildegard was, as her name signifies, “a garden of loveliness.” Like Charles, she survives in the sagas of the Middle Ages, in Church legends, on the lips of the people,

in the romantic poetry of subsequent centuries. She was not a Frank, but Swabian by blood and birth, the sister of a hero in the army of Pipin and Charles, the sister of Gerold, count of Bussen, to whom, after the abolition of the ducal dignity in Alemannia, the government of this country had been entrusted.

Isolated, seen from afar, two thousand five hundred feet above the level of the sea, there rises from the wide plain in Upper Swabia a conical hill, which is still called Bussen. The road winds slowly and gradually upwards, and, to one close to it, Bussen seems only a wooded hill with an unspeakably beautiful view over all Upper Swabia, and over the chain of the Vorarlberg, the Tyrolese and Swiss Alps, away to the Oberland of Berne. This Alpine world, in full grandeur and majesty, almost at the spectator's feet, is spread out before the eyes from Bussen. Close by, the Federsee glitters, now almost drained and cultivated; at no great distance, the rolling columns of smoke from the steam-vessels show the bed of the great internal sea, which in the Middle Ages was called the Swabian Sea, and also, as it is still called, the Bodensee, Buotan's, that is, Wuotan's or Woden's Sea. (The Lake of Constance.) The mountain still exhibits, together with its pilgrim-church, dull ruins of two castles with front and rear keeps, and the lips of the people still repeat reminiscences and tales connected with Kaiser Karl, the fair Hildegard, and her gallant brother Gerold. These sagas retain more life, because Hildegard passed also into legend, or the religious saga, that peculiar kind of mediæval poetry which treats persons and objects of the Christian faith with the coloring of miracle.

Here, on this rounded hill, was the original seat of an ancient Suevian race, of the extensive race of the counts of Folkholz-Baar and Berthold's-Baar, from which, too, the counts of Böhringen and Nellenburg, perhaps too the counts of Zähringen, have proceeded. This was the cradle of Hildegard. Her mother was Emma, great-granddaughter of Gottfried, duke of the united Swabians and Alemanns. Her and Gerold's father was the count of Bussen, of the oldest and noblest Swabian stock; noble as was this third wife, virtuous and lovely, although the Church was pleased with the union, yet it was displeasing to Queen Bertha, the mother of Charles.

She, the mother whom Charles had hitherto honored like a child, now fell out with her son about the repudiation of the Lombard princess, whose marriage with Charles had been arranged by Bertha. But passion was stronger than the mother, especially as his passion was backed by the Church and the Pope.

But not merely did his mother fall out with the son who had hitherto been docile to her, but was now in the fangs of the Papacy; these bindings and loosings of the matrimonial ties touched the moral susceptibilities of the Germans.

While divorces were easy and usual among the Romanic Franks, it was very different among the German Franks. Among the latter, whether heathen or Christian, the view of marriage was one which regarded marriage as holy. Those of the Austrasian or East Franks who clung to the Arian confession, were strict about the dissolution of wedlock according to the Gospel. To them it was a shameful thing that the bishops and the Pope wantonly, and from reasons of expediency, dissolved

marriages for nobles, grandees, and princes, while, at the same time, they declared them indissoluble, and refused to dissolve them in case of ordinary Christians. The heathens of the Franks deemed it monstrous that, in secret, without a decision of the commons, or vote of the representatives, the resolution of the clergy and Church could dissolve a union, to dissolve which seemed in their heathen eyes to be forbidden alike by natural religion and manly honor.

Even in his nearest surroundings, in his own court, Charles had to bear disapprobation. Many a noble heart among the Franks took it ill that Hildegard became his wife at the instant when he had put away Adalberga. Hitherto Adalard, a cousin of Charles, had been especially devoted to him, and brought up with him at the court. This youth of twenty years, whom Charles had made the count of the palace (Pfalzgraf, Count Palatine), could not be induced to pay any honor to the new queen Hildegard. In his view, this new marriage of his king was one forbidden by Christianity and the old law of the Franks; he condemned it, because, in the repudiation of Adalberga, in her innocence, he saw a violation of a man's sacred word, a perjury, an outrage to female worth. As he could not hinder what he must, as a moral and religious man, disapprove, he determined at least not to suffer anything further. He left the court and entered the abbey of Corvey. There he remained and died as abbot, counted by the Church among the saints. In the same year, in the year of the divorce and the third marriage, Carloman, the brother of Charles, died; he, too, condemned the wantonness of his brother.

If then the Franks, in spite of this shadow, were unanimous in Charles's favor, they must have been attracted by the splendor which shone around him, and by which these shadows were overpowered.

The appearance of Charles announced an extraordinary man; nature had done much for him. He had a mighty form—tall and stately, he measured full seven feet—and this mighty frame was so sound in every limb, that, in spite of the enormous exertions of his long and disturbed reign, he was never sick till the last four years of his life. His countenance and whole appearance bore the stamp of beauty and of the extra-ordinary. His brow was high-arched, and, deeply set beneath it, his eyes gleamed large and fiery; a bold, aquiline nose of more than middle size; a broad, deep chest; on his head beautiful hair streaming thickly down; his step firm; his whole bearing full of dignity and manliness; in his looks cheerfulness and happiness; and yet the whole aspect was full of majesty, whether sitting or standing. Such was the exterior of Charles. He had only one defect; the sound of his voice was clear, but not loud enough—too thin in proportion to his huge bodily frame.

Thus externally fashioned was King Charles in his youth, the first German emperor, the ruler of the Franks in the days when the various German tribes brought by him into a unity, the Germans formed by him by his struggles and battles into a united nation where every member was conscious of mutual connection, became conscious of their national adolescence.

Charles, too, was favored with various intellectual advantages. Although he had

been purposely neglected by the priests of his father as far as concerned the A, B, C of the school, yet the great faculties which he brought into the world with him developed themselves wonderfully, after a short, stormy youth, in the first years of his reign, by self-education and self-teaching by eye and ear, through association, eagerly sought for, with really learned and educated men. Charles was in the highest degree what we call highly gifted, a man of genius on the throne. Without the learned education which the Church had withholden from his youth, he struck the right spot by insight, whether in war or peace; and the creative thoughts bred in his brain, thoughts which transformed the German world, were, indeed, not so entirely his own; but he was the man who turned into action what he had been taught and what he had learnt by personal intercourse and written correspondence with men of science.

The greatness of his richly endowed nature is shown, too, in this, that, long after, even on the imperial throne, and with his great gifts, he felt his deficiencies, and remained modest enough to honor whomever he found educated, and to learn from every one, that he might recover the ground he had lost in his education. No German prince down to our days, always excepting Charles Augustus of Weimar, ever honored so highly or placed so highly men of learning. They were his friends in the youth of his kingdom, and Alcuin was as much in his confidence as one intimate friend is in that of another. This tone of friendship between Alcuin, the simple Anglo-Saxon, and Charles, the elected emperor, did not change till Charles, urged on and corrupted by the Papal court and his flatterers, did what Alcuin could not approve, and till the latter, like Adalard, went away from the imperial court in order that his presence in the court might not give an appearance of approval to actions of Charles which he could not prevent.

The rule of Charles in its various parts shows how a prince, highly endowed by nature, with a disposition prone to the noble, can be one man in the hands of noble, educated, free-spirited, liberal men, and another in the hands of flatterers and parsons; and how the same power, energy in will and action, in association with noble, free-souled men, keeps down and for the time overcomes selfishness and ambition; and how it becomes an evil thing when perverted by tempters in the garb of priests and courtiers, who say, "The prince, the king, the emperor is absolute, unrestrained, responsible to God, otherwise to nobody."

In Charles, the faculties which interest our spirits, and the popular qualities which win the heart, united with the simplicity characteristic of all truly great men. In the "Iron Charles" there was much human kindness, much romantic feeling, and only when his unswerving policy, with its far-seeing projects, compelled him to be hard, or when his zeal for the extension of the Christian faith hurried him into it, did he show to the world that he had not overcome all traces of old Germany barbarism.

Charles could fight and conquer; that he showed in the brief campaign in which, deserted by his brother Carloman, he deprived the revolter Wolf of his ducal dignity, and annexed the beautiful districts which are to-day called Gascony and Guyenne, Saintonge, Poitou, the Bourbonnais, and Auvergne, with the east part of Languedoc

about Toulouse and Albi, with their *enclaves*. Charles had ended, by one blow, the dukedom of Aquitaine, which consisted of these districts. But the duke Wolf (Welf? Lupus), who had staked and lost the recovery of independence on the unequal game of war, fled into Spain, when everything had fallen into the hands of Charles.

Desiderius, king of the Lombards, was frantic at the insult offered by Charles to his innocent daughter and himself. He thought of nothing but revenge. Every consideration of policy was flung aside in passionate desire to revenge his much-wronged daughter. Although the last warlike collisions between Franks and Lombards were still recent, and a warning before his eyes dissuading hostility against the king of the Franks, all was forgotten by Desiderius. With his passion for revenge, his pride and his Lombard self-consciousness swelled up, and he no longer remembered that the Lombards had ceased to be the stout soldiers who had marched from the mountains of Austria and Hungary into Italy.

In the course of two centuries they had become effeminate under the mild sky and in the abundant luxury of Italy. With Italian education, they had adopted Italian customs. They had brought into Upper Italy sound German bodies and souls, and had strengthened the German element introduced by the Eastgoths. But they had shown themselves less able than the Goths to resist the sky, the soil, the spirit of Italy, the priestly spirit that leads to slavery, the over-refinement which characterizes a civilization about to fall; the charms and pleasures of Italy had proved too strong for the Lombard "Recken" who, two centuries before, had entered the country, simple in life and chaste in conduct. Instead of making Italy German, they allowed the corrupting and weakening influence of Italy to sink deeper every decade into the marrow and blood of their German life. They became Romanized; what was German in them was Italianized.

This transformation was complete in the majority of the Lombards at the time of King Desiderius; his son Adalgis, with a small minority, formed an exception. Although the old Lombardic vigor and strength still survived in its fullness in these valiant few, yet the king and his nobles loved soft couches more than the saddle; and the rattling of dice and the clink of drinking vessels in the banquet were more often heard than the clash of swords in the fencing-school. In the royal palace and in the houses of the nobles the harp of the minstrel sounded sweeter than of old; but the songs were no longer the strong and mighty lays from the rich cycle of Eastgothic or Lombardic heroic sagas, such as still echo in the descriptions of Paul, the son of Warnefried, who resolved them into prose in a Latin translation—the lays, now bright, now darksome, of Alboin's youth and chivalry, of Authari's courtship of Theodelinda, of the revenge of Rosamond, of the death of Fertulf. These German lays of the Goths and Lombards had half-died away in the time of Desiderius; many Lombards had exchanged their own German tongue in their new country for the Romanic tongue of the conquered, and Italian lays and love-songs resounded in the Lombard halls. Most of the Lombards even bore Italian names, and the king himself was as little a genuine Lombard as his name, Desiderius, was German.

It was a noble act for Desiderius to receive hospitably at his court the widow of the Frank king Carloman, the sister-in-law of the powerful Charles, when she, with her children and few followers, took refuge with him; but it was unwise for him, out of revenge for the insult offered by Charles to his daughter, to acknowledge the children of Carloman as kings of the Franks—to come forward as their patron, as the champion of their claims, as he called them, to the “half of the Frank kingdom possessed by their father, and stolen from them by Charles.” Nor did Desiderius stop at words. He made his court the resort of discontented Frank nobles, not only of those who adhered to the widow and her sons from loyalty to the dead prince, but of all the disaffected; and he believed their assurance respecting the amount of aid he might expect from the discontented party in his war against Charles. He stirred up hostility in Charles’s kingdom by means of the fugitives and other malcontents at his court. At the same time he demanded, in the year 772, that Pope Hadrian I., the successor of Stephen, anoint as kings of France, his *protégés* the sons of Carloman. He used every effort to draw the Pope away from Charles to his own side. But to all his wishes and exertions Hadrian remained “hard as adamant.” He gained to his interests the Pope’s chamberlain, Paul. The latter promised to “place the Pope in the king’s hand even if he had to tie a rope around his feet.” Hadrian learnt what Paul had said, seized him in Rimini, and proceeded to put down by open force the Lombard party in Rome. Desiderius now sought to terrify the Pope into compliance. He invaded with a Lombard army the coast district belonging to the Pope during the deep peace of the harvest time, when men, women, and children were busy with the sickle in the field. He knew that Charles, with all the levies of his kingdom, had taken the field in 772, and was now deeply involved in the Saxon war.

The Frank Otker, the loyal liegeman of the dead king Carloman, of his widow, and of his sons, was, with Adalgis, the leading spirit at the court of Desiderius and in the army. The Lombard host surprised the unsuspecting territories of the Pope, robbed, burnt, and murdered in Urbino, Sinigaglia, Montefeltro, Agubbio, Otricoli, and Blerana, and took possession of the greatest part of the Papal dominions. The Pope in vain demanded from Desiderius the restoration of these cities; Desiderius repeated his demand for the anointing of his *protégés*, otherwise he would besiege Rome. On the Pope’s refusal, he marched with a powerful army against Rome. Pope Hadrian shut himself up behind the gates of Rome, and sent couriers to King Charles begging help in his need. The Lombards had, at Otker’s advice, seized all the passes of Italy to prevent such a message. But Peter, one of the envoys of the Pope, found a way by sea from Italy to Marseilles, and then, by land, came without accident to Thionville (Diedenhofen), a place on the Moselle where Charles lay.

The Pope applied to the Frank king as the “bound protector of the city of Rome, the Roman territory, and the Roman Church.” The title “Patrician of Rome” had been given by Pope Stephen to Pipin the father and to Charles the son by a sound calculation of Papal policy that the title would one day be of practical value. At the court of the Franks this title and the distinctions accompanying it, had been



received just as a modern prince receives the insignia of a knightly order from another; and King Pipin, whose royal power was new, had been gratified by these distinctions, the more that their external splendor glittered in the eyes of the Franks, and that the gold-embroidered purple robe and the diadem exalted him in their opinion; as did the recollection that Odoacer, Theodorich and Clovis had borne the robe and diadem of a patrician of Rome, that is, of a patron or protector.

King Charles had long been wishing to intervene in the affairs of Italy.

Charles had now matured his scheme to make an entirely new arrangement in western Christendom. In this plan of his, the Lombard kingdom in Italy did not fit; still less the hostile position assumed by the Lombard king. While from political reasons Charles had decided that an independent Lombard kingdom could not be united with his idea of the grandeur of a Christian German empire, yet he hesitated—a sign of the nobler manhood in him—to hurl from his throne the father of the innocent daughter he had thrust from his bed. Charles at first demanded from Desiderius merely the withdrawal of his forces from the Papal territory, in return for a ransom of 14,000 gold *solidi* which the Pope would pay to the king. Desiderius rejected the proposal; the entanglement of Charles in the Saxon war made him too confident. The favorable terms offered were proofs to him that Charles was in distress: he was puffed up by the reports which he received through the Frank fugitives from the kingdom, of an immediate rising *en masse* of the malcontents there, of the repugnance of many, nobles and commons, towards so laborious a campaign against their own kindred in a foreign land, a repugnance always existing; he was puffed up by the military arrangements made, at Otker's suggestion, in the passes of the Alps to render impossible the entrance of a Frank army into Italy. But all his reckonings were false.

While Desiderius, with his son Adalgis and the Frank Otker, were knocking at the gates of Rome, Charles had resolved on a war against the Lombards.

Indeed the news from Italy was so inviting, the moment seemed so propitious, that he did not follow up his great success in the country of the Saxons, but discontinued the war. The last messenger of the Pope found at Thionville not only Charles but the spiritual and temporal nobles, and the national representatives summoned by Charles, all prepared to march for Italy. Even those who previously opposed an expedition across the Alps into Italy on account of its difficulty, had in the Saxon war got enough to make the south, by comparison, a smiling landscape. Now they were all ready to march to Italy; in Italy there was other booty and other pleasures to be enjoyed than in Saxony in the primeval forests and morasses of the German North. If Charles marched as an ally of the Pope, as the protector of the city of Rome, the prize of the campaign would be secure, and this prize could be no other than the Iron Crown of Lombardy, and a lucrative position for many illustrious Franks.

Charles marched rapidly to the south of his kingdom. At Geneva, in sight of the Alps of Savoy, he held a new council of war, in September, 773. By its advice, he

divided his army into two; with one he himself crossed by Mount Cenis, with the other his uncle Bernhard penetrated through the passes of Mont Jou. This mountain obtained, from the name of the leader Bernhard, the name of Bernhardsberg among the Germans. It is the famous Mount St. Bernard. The Carthaginian Hannibal and the Roman Cæsar had led armies over this mountain; it had become the Roman

military road, and in old times a temple of Jupiter stood where there stands to-day, as it has stood for centuries, the convent of the hospitable monks who have refreshed many a wanderer, and rescued many a human life from death in the snowfields. Charles chose the shortest way, through fog, cloud, and snow, on the narrow path near precipices over summits clad with eternal snow and ice. Leaving the mountains on the Italian side of the passes, the detachments of Charles and his uncle united again in the wide plain in Lombard territory.

Otker and Adalgis, with Desiderius, had not reckoned on the presence of Charles and his army so soon; they believed him still detained on the Weser in the German north. While Pope Hadrian was concealing all the treasures of the Church in Saint Peter's and in Sant' Angelo, the tomb of Hadrian, while he was collecting all who were true to him in Rome, and throwing up fortifications and defences, while the Lombards without the gates were threatening, Charles had crossed the Alps into what is now Lombardy.

But Desiderius and Otter had expected him neither so soon nor by this road, although Otter had not omitted carefully to occupy the passes on this point too. Charles, however, found any considerable resistance only on one point, on the slope of the mountain where a knight with a German name, Eberhard, barred the pass. Charles defeated him and destroyed the fortifications in the pass. With this exception, "no spear was raised against him, no shield thrust back, no soldier hurt by hostile weapon," as had been promised by the Pope and the disaffected Romanic and German parties in the Lombard kingdom.

The arrangements which the experienced Otter had made respecting the Alpine passes were frustrated by Italian treason, by the measures of the foes of the house of Desiderius, the adherents and members of the previous royal family.

The affairs of the Lombard kingdom cannot have been known to the Frank Otter, who had been such a short time in the kingdom; the youthful spirit of Adalgis underestimated the opponents of his house among the laity, and utterly and entirely disregarded the power of clerical influence. Desiderius himself, frivolous and luxurious, did not know the ground which supported his throne. At the time when, in proud self-confidence, nay, with contempt, he rejected the offers of Charles, the ground was thoroughly undermined by those who knew how to plot and mine unseen and unheard. The house of the dethroned King Rachis, the families of all the dukes who had once been competitors with Desiderius for the Iron Crown, were still inimical to the new king. The foes of pure German blood united against Desiderius with his enemies of Romanic blood, with his semi-Romanic opponents, with the priests who, obedient to the Papal See, responded to the Pope's wishes. All these various enemies, now united against him, had been entirely overlooked in the calculations of Desiderius. They, however, had sent skilled guides to Charles, who had led the two detachments of his army from Geneva by the safest roads through the mountains. The chief of these Alpine guides was a clergyman from Ravenna. Under their guidance the two detachments had avoided the passes occupied by the Lombards. Provisions for the Frank army were sent over the mountains from the Italian monastery of Novalesse, ample supplies were collected in the convent itself, and on his arrival Charles found superabundance for himself and his army. The chronicle of Novalesse says: "God showed to King Charles the conquest of Italy in sight"; in ordinary language, one would say, Treachery on the part of the inhabitants of his kingdom delivered the king of the Lombards and his land into the hands of the Franks. Novalesse was a convent in the Lombard kingdom.

Thus guided over the mountains by Italian traitors, and escaped from all danger, Charles and his united forces suddenly appeared in the plain, to the rear of the Lombards who held the Alpine passes. We may well believe that even among these troops who guarded the passes, there were traitors; but even if they had been all loyal, what could be done against a superior force of Franks by troops thus taken in the rear? On the news that Charles was approaching Italy, Desiderius had marched homeward with all speed, and his son Adalgis, hastening before him, hoped to lay low with his iron bar many of the Franks as they came through the passes; but the garrisons of the passes fled when they saw the Franks pouring over the plain. To avoid being cut off, they fled from the foot of the Alps to the fortress of Pavia and other cities.

When Charles from his Saxon camp had warned Desiderius against his oppression of the Pope, the Lombard king, puffed up with pride, let fall at a banquet the words: "I do not fear the barking of the German dogs; they cannot get out of their kennels."

In these few words is depicted the degraded nature of the Lombard king, who despised the stock he came from, who scorned what alone gave him, as compared with the Franks, a right to rule in Italy, the German element, who could no longer value German arms or German hearts. This one saying of itself shows the historical necessity that such kings must cease to rule in Upper Italy, and that if Upper Italy was not to become like Lower Italy, these districts must be subject to a new management, and the Lombard element submit to a new German crossing.

Adalgis made the attempt to offer battle to the Franks in the open field. Desiderius still hoped for victory. Then was seen the fruit of what had been sown and tilled by the disaffected nobles and clergy; the forces of Adalgis were diminished by the desertion of the nobles who were in the conspiracy. One portion of them fled with their followers at the first attack of the Franks; another portion went straight over to the Franks. The heroic spirit of Adalgis could no longer delay the dissolution of the army. He fled with the widowed Gilberga and her sons. A camp full of booty fell to the Franks. Adalgis with the Frank exiles threw himself into Verona. Desiderius concealed himself in the strong fortress of Pavia.

The fortification and defence of Pavia were conducted by Otker, and the place defied the Frank attack. But the priests and nobles hostile to Desiderius everywhere worked into the hands of the Frank detachments who blockaded the separate fortresses in the interior of the kingdom. At the same time the troops of the Pope entered Lombardy from the south. Spoleto and Ravenna revolted from Desiderius and surrendered to the Pope. They swore allegiance to the Papal See, and received Hildebrand as their duke. Fermo, Osimo, Ancona, Foligni yielded to the Franks; soon after Foligni, in April, 774, the strong and great city of Verona surrendered. Adalgis succeeded in escaping to Pavia; but Gilberga and her children were taken prisoners. After the fall of this great stronghold of the Lombards, only Pavia held out alone. While the Frank and Papal troops were reducing these Lombard cities,

King Charles himself had arrived in Rome at the Easter of 774. The honors were great with which the Protector of Rome was welcomed by Pope and city. Even the beloved Hildegard was with him, as were their two children Charles and Rodtraut; he had summoned them to Rome, to keep with him the feast of Easter in the metropolis of the world. For the first time Charles saw the "eternal city." What an impression would he receive from its noble edifices, and from the splendor of the Romish ceremonies!

The Pope had prepared for him a solemn entrance. Thirty miles from Rome all the high dignitaries with the Banner met him. In front of the city, youths and maidens with songs of thanksgiving, all the schools with palms and olive branches

in their hands, received him; even the Holy Cross was borne to greet the Protector of the city. At sight thereof the king and his attendants sprang from their horses, and walked on foot to St. Peter's church. At that period five-and-thirty steps of marble led to the building. On the highest stood the Pope with all his cardinals and prelates in their highest ecclesiastical magnificence, and with the most illustrious citizens of Rome. The music sounded, the songs arose. The Frank Charles, bred in the camp, and yet deeply religious after the fashion of the time, did not walk up to the sanctuary; he climbed on his knees the five-and-thirty stairs, and kissed each step. Then all acknowledged that here was the champion of the faith, the hero destined to bear the sword for the protection of Christendom in the west against the Saracens, for the conversion of the heathen in the northeast, the Saxons and the Slaves.

In the porch, King and Pope embraced. King Charles entered the church on the Pope's right hand. From the lips of all the people, who, according to Italian

accounts, saw in Charles their deliverer, there swelled forth the hymn, "Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord!" While the hymn was singing, the King and Pope advanced to the tomb of the Apostle, and knelt together in prayer. After mass, Charles asked permission to enter the city, to perform his devotions in other churches too.

After a solemn mutual oath of inviolable friendship between King and Pope, Charles entered the city, and visited other churches, not merely to pray, but to gain instruction, especially about architecture. Charles, like all great men, had artistic

feeling, and comprehended the importance of art for the moral training of the people. He wished, therefore, to see with his own eyes the ecclesiastical edifices.

Hadrian kept the Frank king and his Franks occupied during the days of the Easter festival, between the solemnities of devotion and the joyous festivity of the banquet. On the fourth day, he asked Charles for a confirmation of the letter of donation which Pipin had given to his predecessors in favor of the Church. Charles not merely confirmed the donation of his father, but enlarged it by new endowments to Saint Peter.

Charles now returned to Upper Italy. Hunger and pestilence were raging in Pavia, and party strife, too, increased the suffering of the defenders of the stronghold. Romantic sagas and tales respecting the surrender were current among contemporaries, and transferred to the chronicles. That internal treachery played a part, gleams

through the account—which contradicts itself in particulars—given by the Chronicles of Novalesse. According to this saga, if we take away the impossible, there remains the possible fact that an illustrious Lombard lady at the king's court aided in the surrender of the city. A maiden—so was the tale—shot from a cross-bow over the Ticino on which Pavia stands, a letter, wherein was read that for love of King Charles she would deliver the fortress. On receipt of a reply, she stole from under the head of the sleeping Lombard king, the keys of the city, and sent word to Charles he must be ready this night to enter the city. The Frank army drew near the gate. The gate was flung open, and in her love for the Frank king the treacherous maiden rushed in blind joy to meet the entering troops. But in the crowd she fell under the feet of their horses; it is dark night, she is trodden to death by the chargers of the Franks.

The poetical justice displayed in this tale shows at all events that after the fall of Pavia, and the overthrow of an independent Lombard kingdom, the popular feeling and belief held that all had not been quite straightforward—that treason had had a hand in the game. Popular tales invent and feign particular traits and even actions, but they never misrepresent the feeling of a whole people. That feeling never errs; and if, in the tales handed down for centuries by popular tradition in prose or verse, we meet here instances of heroism, there stories of treachery, it is a judgment of God; there is something true therein, which the victory of superior power, the dominion of the victor, can not obliterate or uproot.

Pavia fell into the hands of the Franks in June, 774. Adalgis, awakened by the neighing of the Frank horses, rushed forth and slew many Franks in front of the palace. His father, Desiderius, forbade farther resistance. "It is God's will that the city fall," he said. Desiderius had often rose at midnight and gone to church to pray, but he was no longer a soldier. He, his wife Ansa and his children surrendered to the conqueror. Adalgis, when all was lost, cut his way through, escaped to Pisa, and thence reached Constantinople. Charles occupied the royal castle as well as the city. The treasures he found in it were distributed to his army. He then proclaimed that the house of Desiderius had ceased to reign. The dethroned King Desiderius, his wife and children were sent across the Alps. Desiderius received the tonsure, became a monk, and was conveyed with his family to the convent of Corvey. There he abode, occupied in works of devotion, till his death. Of his wife and their children, of the sons of Carloman and of their mother, history does not tell the further fortunes.

The series of native Lombard kings ends with Desiderius, the feeble son of powerful sires. The kingdom of the Lombards had endured in full splendor for two hundred and six years. To complete the fall of the independence of the kingdom did not require a year, because the people were degenerate, the king blinded, the nobles tyrannical and revengeful; because party strife was raging and the priesthood intermeddling, so that at last the people were indifferent, the nobles were traitors, and the Lombard kingdom, overripe, fell of its own weight into the hands of the foreign conqueror.

## CHAPTER II.

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**CHANGES EFFECTED BY CHARLES IN LOMBARDY—THE IRON CROWN—PAUL, THE SON OF WARNEFRIED—CONSPIRACY OF ADALGIS—FASTRADA—FALL OF ADALGIS.**

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Policy marked the conduct of the victorious king. He knew the vanity and national pride of the Lombards, and was aware that the men of the present were contented with appearances, because they were no longer the men of the past. He therefore decreed the annexation of the Lombard kingdom, not as a Frank policy in previous conquests, nor the annexation of a kingdom, but the dethronement of the reigning king, which was to continue unchanged except that the king was no longer named Desiderius but Charles.

Charles retained the old form of election by the nobles, but the farce was acted by means of the nobles of the party among the Lombards. The nobles and the king went to him in Pavia, and he now named himself "King of the Lombards" as well as "King of the Franks" and

"Patrician of Rome." That the Lombards might not wish for the old family to be restored, Charles, after his coronation with the old Iron Crown at Monza near Milan, exhibited unusual leniency; the whole population saw itself treated with such kindness as a Lombard had scarcely ever displayed.

The inscription on the Iron Crown and its component parts were of importance to Charles the statesman and Charles the Romish devotee.

Theodolinde had, after her second marriage with Duke Agilulf of Turin, placed in the treasury of the church built by her at Monza and dedicated to St. John the Baptist, a crown of gold. It was the crown with which she had crowned her husband Agilulf. The Lombard kings had previously not worn a crown; this crown was an introduction from Constantinople. The influence of the deeply calculating



Church of Rome over the court clergy of Theodolinde was shown in the inscription on the crown she had got fashioned. "Agilulf, by the grace of God, King of all Italy." Thus ecclesiastical policy smuggled into the kingdom of the Lombards the "royalty by the grace of God;" unless, indeed, this addition is a later forgery.

To be "King by the grace of God," if only, at first, among the Lombards, was something which fell in with the inclinations of Charles, especially as the "Iron" crown, with which so many Lombard kings had been crowned, contained a remarkable "holy" part. The golden crown made for Theodolinde was called the "Iron" crown because it was kept together by an iron ring formed from "a relic," a nail said to have been employed in the crucifixion of Christ.

Charles not only spared his new subjects in the matter of taxation, but left to the Lombards their constitution, and to the dukes and nobles their several offices; he placed a Frank garrison in Pavia, but in no other city. He publicly spoke of himself as one who continued the series of Lombard kings, and styled them his predecessors. Laws which were of force for all the countries and nations under his sceptre, he published separately for the Lombardic kingdom; the national code of Lombard laws retained its validity, and all ordinances of his government were inserted in it, as amendments to the ordinances of the old native princes; in Lombardic affairs he numbered the years of his reign differently from the number used in Frank documents. He had been six years king of the Franks, but when he addressed the Lombards, he said, "In the *first* year of our reign."

Whether the story is true or fabulous, it is a pretty story which is told of the fidelity of a chaplain of the dethroned king and of Charles's conduct towards him.

This chaplain was the celebrated Lombard scholar, Paul, the son of Warnefried. While so many Lombards, clergy and laity, were traitors, Paul, the private secretary of Desiderius, is said to have been induced by love for his king to plot the murder of the conqueror Charles, as an enemy to his country. The councillors of King Charles decreed that his hands should be hewed off, and his eyes put out. "But," said Charles, "if you hew off his hands and put out his eyes, who will write us as pleasant histories as he does?" He was therefore banished to the island of Tremiti. It is certain that Charles honored the great historical talents of the Lombard Paul, that Paul went with him into his Frank dominions, and returned in later years to the Italian convent of Monte Cassino, and died as Abbot of St. Vincent. Paul, the most important historian of his time, who commenced as a monk in Monte Cassino, has written on Roman history, on the history of the Bishopric of Metz, on pure German history, and especially on the history of his own nation, the Lombards. These writings all are extant. He long stood in high favor with Charles, and by his orders, but his own suggestion, compiled an anthology from the writings of the early fathers, "for the use of the clergy" in the Frank and Lombardic kingdoms, that they might not as heretofore give the people nothing but buffoonery in their sermons.

All the Lombards, however, were not reconciled to the new king; many looked on Adalgis, who had been elected co-regent, as the legitimate king of the people.

King Charles had omitted to carry out his plans of conquest in Lower Italy, for various reasons, among which, as the result shows, one especial reason was that Adalberga, his innocent divorced wife, was the Duchess there, the wife of Arighis (Erich) the Lombard Duke of Benevento, whose dukedom embraced nearly the present kingdom of Naples. When his father-in-law was a captive and his brother-in-law Adalgis a fugitive at the court of the Greek emperor Constantine Copronymus, Arighis represented Adalgis's claims to the Lombardic throne, and the independence of the Lombard race in Italy. He laid aside the title of Duke, and assumed that of Prince. The term Prince (Fürst) denoted an independent sovereign station; thus the Carolingians had for some time called themselves Princes of the Franks as independent representatives of royalty, before they became kings. The title Duke had less significance; it denoted the highest official dignity of the Lombardic kingdom, but not an independent princely station. The new "Prince" of the Lombards, however, now bore crown and sceptre as the previous kings of the Lombards had done. He was even anointed by his bishops. Everything was done which could give color to the notion that the fallen Lombard royal family still continued to rule in the south of Italy, and had not yet ceased to be and to reign.

Adalgis had been received with high honor, and royally treated at the court of Constantinople. The imperial court hoped by his means to gain advantages in Italy, and to protect from the talons of the Franks the possessions it still retained there. The emperor acknowledged Adalgis as King of the Lombards, and promised him armed support, to avenge his parents and sister, as well as to recover his throne. Adalgis proceeded to form a secret league among the Lombard dukes, whom Charles had left in their posts, with Rotgaud, duke of Friuli, Hildebrand, duke of Spoleto, Reginald, duke of Fiusi, in the modern Florentine country, and with his brother-in-law Arighis. In March, 776, Adalgis was to land with the Greek auxiliary force; this was to be the sign for a general rising of the Lombards against the Frank rule. The plan was betrayed to the Pope; he gave warning to Charles. Charles hurried from Schlettstadt in Alsace where he was keeping the feast of Christmas, through Swabia and the Tyrol, stormed the strongholds of Rotgaud in the Friul, and ordered him to be publicly beheaded as a breaker of his sworn allegiance. Charles kept Easter in Trevigo in Venetia. His arms and his presence had put down the conspiracy before a Greek flag had shown itself on the coast.

To prevent any new attempts by Adalgis to recover the country and throne by means of the native dukes, Charles dissolved the ducal system in Lombardy; each of the existing duchies was divided into counties, and these placed, not under native officers, but under Frank counts. At the same time he settled Franks and Alemanni on the extensive demesne lands of the Lombard kingdoms, and the territories confiscated in consequence of the late conspiracy; Alemanni in Piedmont and the Friul, Franks in Tuscany and the districts bordering on the Papal possessions. Even the name of Lombardy is now disused, and the country called "Frankish Upper and Lower Italy." The Frank military and judicial systems were introduced, with the

limitation that the Frank law was for the Franks settled in Upper and Middle Italy, the Lombard law for the Lombards, the Roman law for the Romanic population. Yet some Frank principles were introduced into the Lombard law, which served to protect the freemen against the arbitrary power of the officials, and to guard the royal power against encroachments and tendencies to revolt. Such was the institution of the *Scabini* (Schöppen, Echevins, the assessors of a count), the extraordinary plenipotentiaries of the king styled Messengers, and the Counts Palatine (Pfalzgraf, Palgrave). Four years later, in 780, Charles formed "Frankish Upper and Lower Italy" into a kingdom with a separate administration, a "Kingdom of Italy." He named as King of Italy his son Pipin—not Pipin the son of Himiltrude, but Pipin the second son of Hildegard—and on the fifteenth of April, 781, Pope Hadrian with his own hand anointed the prince of fifteen years as king.

But this abolition of everything Lombard down to the name itself, injured Charles in the heart of many Lombards, and the appearance of Frank officials and of Frank settlers hurt the Lombard feeling of race; and just ten years after the first attempt at revolt, Prince Arighis of Benevento formed in Italy a much more widely ramified conspiracy than the previous one, and found, out of Italy, powerful allies in the nobles of Thuringia and in Thassilo, duke of Bavaria. Thassilo, like Arighis, was a son-in-law of Desiderius, and by his influence the Thuringian nobles were drawn into the league for armed insurrection. Money was furnished by Constantinople. Arighis had formed the league in behalf of his brother-in-law Adalgis.

Adalgis, with ships furnished by the Greek Empress Irene, sailed towards Italy in the year 787. But before he landed, before a general revolt took place, King Charles had burst in pieces this second alliance against him. The secret had been revealed to the Pope, and by the Pope to the king. The latter fell in force on Southern Italy, and on the Prince of Benevento. At first Arighis offered a vigorous resistance. But when the Franks like locusts had eaten up the country, the welfare of his people was dearer to him than his own; he sent rich presents to Charles with the request that he would spare Benevento. The envoys who bore the request were Adalberga, the Prince's wife, and her son Grimoald. She offered herself and her first-born as voluntary hostages, and in her husband's name gave assurances of his readiness to obey the will of Charles. But the Pope and the Frank councillors of Charles insisted that the duke of Benevento must be brought down and his duchy abolished. Urged by them, Charles and his army entered Capua. Arighis threw himself into Salerno. Adalberga now presented her second son also as a hostage to Charles.

In despite of the Pope and many of the Frank nobles, Charles did not hurl Arighis from his throne like the other dukes of Italy; he was the only one spared, evidently for Adalberga's sake. He allowed her and her son Romuald to return to her husband, and made a peace, the terms of which were, under the circumstances, very lenient toward Arighis. He had only to do homage to Charles and his son Pipin, to pay an annual feudal tax, and surrender some cities. On these conditions he remained in possession of his lands. Charles kept by him Grimoald, the first-born of Adalberga,

and had him educated in the court at (Aachen) Aix-la-Chapelle, and treated him with a preference which struck the Franks. Such conduct is another proof that when Charles repudiated her, Adalberga was innocent of any fault, and that he was anxious to gratify her, whenever or however he could. Even if it was politic to bring up as a Frank and gain to his side the son and successor of the Prince of Benevento, yet it is evident that policy in this case was not the chief spring of action.

Renewed association with Adalberga must have awakened in Charles's heart—for he had a heart—comparisons and recollections. At this time domestic misfortune had entered his house with his fourth wife Fastrada. The fair Swabian Hildegard who had borne him seven children had been torn from him by death in 783, and in the same year he lost his mother, Queen Bertha. Charles had then married at Worms Fastrada, a Thuringian, the daughter of the Austrasian count Rudolf. With her came disaster. She was as proud, tyrannical and cruel as she was beautiful. If he made a comparison, it must have been in favor of Adalberga. For her sake he was forbearing to his sworn foe, her brother Adalgis.

Adalgis had landed just after his confederates had been put down by Charles. Instead of recovering his throne, he fell into the hands of the Franks, probably on his landing. Charles did not put him to death, although that was the course generally adopted from custom and policy by Christians, Mohammedans and heathens. Not till the year 789 was he condemned to die, and with him his chaplain John, whom he had brought with him from Constantinople. The "irreconcilable" could not refrain from plots against Charles even in the prison where he was confined. "Adalgis had to die a bitter death," writes Siegbert of Gemblours. It is probable that some privy conspiracy against Charles was formed by him and his sister Liutberga, the duchess of Bavaria, and that the discovery convicted him of a capital offence. He it was who urged his brother-in-law Thassilo to what wrought his ruin. The fall of both took place in the year 789.

Thus Charles was rid of pretenders to the Italian crown.

## CHAPTER III.

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### FATE OF THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE CONSPIRACY, THE THURINGIAN NOBLES AND THASSILO, DUKE OF BAVARIA—CHARLES'S EXPEDITION TO THE RAAB, AND CONQUEST OF THE LAND OF THE AVARS.

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IN the last conspiracy against King Charles, Thuringian nobles, the chief of whom was Count Hardrat, had taken part.

Charles attacked the Thuringians first, and in the year 786 seized the chief of the Thuringian conspirators, and questioned them whether they actually had plotted his death. They did not deny the charge. "If my fellows had agreed with me," said Hardrat to the king, "thou wouldst not have crossed the Rhine again." In August of the same year judgment was held, and sentence pronounced against the conspirators in a great national assembly at Worms. Some had their eyes put out, and were thus sent into banishment beyond the limits of the kingdom. Others, who were pronounced guilty but did not suffer mutilation, were banished the kingdom and their property forfeited.

Three of the conspirators refused to surrender and defended their heads by their swords; they were slain resisting; no one fell alive into the hands of the royalists. Eginhard relates, that Queen Fastrada, the daughter of the Thuringian count, had a hand in the cruel treatment of these nobles, and exercised an evil influence on her husband Charles. An old account states :

"Fastrada was by nature ungente, and made her husband, who was by nature gentle, be very severe." And Eginhard adds, "The king imbibed the cruel disposition of this woman, and it seemed as if he had changed from his kind and gentle disposition to something inhuman."

The nobles of the Saxons, the Thuringians, the Bavarians, and the Alemanni, in all their insurrections and armed alliances, had done nothing according to their views but attempt to protect and recover the independence of their race, and with it the independence of their princely house, from the increasing power of the Franks, from Frankish royalty and Frankish customs. The case of the Saxons is widely different from that of the Thuringians, Bavarians, or Alemanni. With the Saxons it was an actual war of the people, a war for freedom against Frank tyranny, and at the same time a war of the old faith against the new which was about to be imposed on them. On this account, among the Saxons it was the people *en masse* who resisted and fought. Among the Thuringians it was the nobility of the country, not the people, that revolted. Moreover, the Thuringian nobles were themselves Franks by blood, and called themselves East Franks. With them it was not a struggle of one race against the attacks of another race, but of the great nobles, who had long been settled there almost independent of a prince, against the new kingly power of the Carlovingians, whose laws limited their independence, but extended over the Free, and especially over the Unfree, a shield against the oppression of the Thuringian aristocracy. In Thuringia, in Charles's time, it was a struggle of aristocracy against royalty; not, as in Saxony, a war of religion, still less a war of the people. There was doubtless in it a streak of patriotism, but of a narrow, selfish patriotism, whose pride and self-interests struggled against the development of German interests into a grand whole.

Thassilo, too, had just grounds of discontent against his uncle Pipin, who had forced an oath of allegiance from him in his early youth, and against his cousin Charles, who had extorted a renewal of the oath in the year 781. He could not forget the past, the times in which his father, in which he himself, had enjoyed independence in Bavaria. His Bavarians and his house, the house of the Agilolfings, had been long independent, and he was pleased to think that on him lay the double duty of regaining the independence of his house and of his people. In his anger he overlooked the general situation of affairs. Everywhere in Germany, and on all sides of Europe, matters were now in such a position that a German empire was inevitable, in order that the German nation might occupy her allotted position in the world, the predominance over Europe; that, in the next place, it had fallen to the Frank race among the Germans to unite all Germans under one supreme head; that, therefore, whoever did not acquiesce in the new order of things must be crushed down or absorbed by the Frank crown which had long been growing to gigantic proportions.

The result prearranged by the course of human events developing themselves according to eternal necessary law, and at all times demanding sacrifices, was now

accelerated by the fault of Thassilo and his wife; the downfall, that is, not only of the ducal dignity in Bavaria, but of the house of the Agilolfings, and the annexation of Bavaria to the Frank kingdom. The fall of Thassilo is an historical tragedy, tragical in the antique sense of the word; the effect would have been more thrilling if Thassilo, the hero of the piece, had been a more important character than he really was. On the one hand, he undertook a task too great for his powers; on the other, a load was laid on him greater and heavier than he could bear.

Thassilo was neither a statesman nor a general; he was a knight on the ducal throne, rather weak and vacillating than strong and vigorous in planning and executing, ruled by his wife and not master in his own house. His wife Liutberga, the "Lombardine," was more proud than prudent, although she surpassed Thassilo in mind as well as in action. If the pair had acquiesced in the force of circumstances, the ducal throne of Bavaria would have been assured to them by the generosity of Charles and his regard for kindred. But Liutberga's pride was greater than her love for her husband; her passionate desire to revenge the wrongs of her father and her house was stronger than her penetration. Her understanding told her that the strength of Bavaria by itself was too small for a struggle against the might of Charles, but her revenge whispered that she must, therefore, seek allies wherever she could find them. Much had struck both the heart and head of this woman: the repudiation of her sister Adalberga, the dethronement of her father and mother, the captivity of her brother Adalgis. How must she have loved and mourned this hero-brother, when he was an exile in Constantinople, or a prisoner to the Franks, and all, in her eyes, through the fault of Charles! Her grief and her anger against Charles had sufficient foundation.

She daily urged Thassilo; she induced him to enter the great conspiracy against Charles in the year 786. In utter misconception, utter lack of comprehension of the state of affairs, Thassilo sought for support in the Papal See, where it was not and could not be, when he was in extreme distress. The quickness with which King Charles surprised the conspirators in Thuringia, and Thassilo's brother-in-law Arighis in Lower Italy, and seized Adalgis at his first landing, left Thassilo and Liutberga isolated on the stage. The blows had fallen, right and left, too speedily, or rather, Thassilo's want of energy had been too late in collecting his army on the Lech, in 787, the army which ought to have opened the campaign simultaneously with the armies in Upper and Lower Italy.

Thassilo was left isolated with the army he had raised, alone without the aid of a single ally. Yet Charles did not act with vigor. His heart would not allow him to depose his sister's son Thassilo, and Adalberga's sister Liutberga; moreover, policy did not yet require it. Charles demanded from Thassilo merely securities for his loyalty, and invited him to Worms. Thassilo did not put in an appearance, and gave a proud reply. Before he expected it, Charles had surrounded him with his army. From Saxony and Thuringia, from Swabia, from Italy through the Tyrol, Frank troops were pouring into Bavaria in 787. Then Thassilo invoked the mediation of

the Pope. The Pope reminded him of the oath of allegiance which he had twice taken to the king of the Franks; on no other grounds could he base his mediation.

Thassilo proceeded to the camp of Charles at Augsburg; on the 3d of October, 787, he appeared before the king and begged for forgiveness. He was compelled to surrender his duchy to the king, and receive it again from his hands as a fief; and the people of Bavaria took an oath of allegiance to the king direct. This was the third time that Thassilo had done homage to the Frank king as his over-lord. Charles withdrew. Thassilo had placed in the hands of his royal cousin, his son Theudo and twelve other hostages. Thassilo returned home. Liutberga reproached him with his humiliation, regardless of the overwhelming power of Charles, and so embittered his life that he was heard to exclaim that were he to lose ten sons and his own life, he would not keep the oath of homage; it would be better to die than live on such terms.

To the other causes which excited the passionate soul of Liutberga was now added the impulse to free her beloved brother Adalgis from his captivity. His chaplain John seems to have conducted by clerical emissaries a correspondence between Liutberga and Adalgis, and to have formed a plan, deserving of death more than any other scheme could—a plan involving not only breach of faith and revolt against the king, but treason against the German nation. Adalgis perhaps gave the suggestion, and his sister Liutberga, as is expressly stated, worked on Thassilo till he in despair joined the conspiracy.

Their scheme was an alliance with the heathen neighbors of Bavaria, the savage Avars dwelling between the Ens and the Sau. These remains of the warlike Huns were regarded by the Bavarians with horror as well as fear, on account of the savage nature of their heathenism, and the mischief which this cruel and rapacious race had done to the border lands of Bavaria; and Thassilo allowed himself to be persuaded by Liutberga and Adalgis to invite these terrible hordes to attack the kingdom of the Franks, and promised them armed support as soon as they reached German soil.

Such conduct ruined him in the opinion of his people. Even in Bavaria, the experience of the last ten years had increased the number of those who thought more of German unity under one head than of the separate existence of Bavaria under an independent hereditary duke. And this party among the Bavarians was increased by those who, while favoring independence, yet saw in Thassilo's secret alliance with the heathen Avars, the ancient enemies of the Germans, a treason to their country, their Church, and Christianity. It was of small avail now to Thassilo that he had hitherto favored the Church; he now had all the faithful for his opponents as well as the policy of the Pope.

Information of the secret intrigues of their duke was given to the king by the Bavarians themselves; these intrigues were known only to those who stood very near the duke, who otherwise were on his side, but were now disgusted at his late actions; and Bavarians were the persons who brought an accusation of treason against the duke in the national assembly of the kingdom held at Ingelheim on the Rhine, in March, 788.



Thassilo appeared in the meeting without any suspicion that his words and deeds had been betrayed to the king. He found himself accused by his own subjects; he saw them produce proofs of his treason. Charles threw him into prison, and at the same time ordered Liutberga, their children, and the treasures of the duke to be conducted to (Regensburg) Ratisbon. The national assembly became a court of justice. The conduct of Thassilo during his whole reign was displayed; his old offences in the time of King Pipin, his refusal to join the army, were revived with his latest actions; and the united estates of the kingdom pronounced judgment on him, a judgment decreed by Bavarian as well as Frank law, by the law of every German race—death by beheading. Thassilo was pronounced guilty on three charges, each of which, according to universal German law, involved the punishment of death—charges of repeated violation of his allegiance, of contempt of the royal summons, and inviting a stranger nation, the national enemy, to attack the country.

Charles did not allow the capital punishment to be executed on Thassilo, however much he deserved it; he compelled him, on the sixth of July, 788, to become a monk; by receiving the tonsure, he ceased to be a prince. It is an error to suppose that the late duke became a simple monk according to the rule of the order of his convents,—had to eat the fare and perform the duties of a monk. From the decision of the national assembly at Frankfort-on-the-Main, in 794, it is quite clear that the position of Thassilo was not that of a cloister-monk, since two large crown lands, Lauterhofen and Ingolstadt, were assigned for his support. In much later times, even in the nineteenth century, the cloister has been the abode of unfortunate princes; and Charles the Fifth lived in the convent of Saint Just, not as a monk, but in a palace near the convent, and did not assume the monk's habit till shortly before his death.

So it was with the conventual life of Liutberga and her daughters. Convents in the interior were assigned them as their places of residence, but we are not told that the duchess was compelled to take the veil. Charles, however, had thus separated the six members of the ducal family—wife from husband, child from parent, sister from sister, and brother from brother. Thassilo had assigned, most probably, the Abbey of Fulda as his residence; some name St. Goar on the Rhine, a situation of wonderful natural beauty; others the Abbey of Lorsch (Laurisheim), placed in one of the most beautiful of German landscapes. It is probable that Thassilo changed his place of abode. The place of Liutberga's banishment is not known. That she, as the weaver of the intrigue, would be most severely treated, may be assumed. That the death of her brother Adalgis in the following year was caused by new plots, is evident; he would have been put to death in 788 if Charles had sought to punish him for old intrigues. We may assume, too, that new intrigues on the part of Liutberga were the causes moving Charles to withdraw her daughters from the influence of such a mother, and that after fresh disturbances in Bavaria, Liutberga's liberty was restricted, and her daughters took the veil, one in the Abbey of Chelles, near Paris, the other in Laon. It is probable that he placed the two sons of Thassilo, Theudo and Theudebert, both under age, in a convent to be educated for holy orders

and high clerical rank; for it was a part of his policy to abolish the dukedom of Bavaria, and therefore the hereditary ducal house. That the two sons of Thassilo were kindly treated by their cousin Charles, and that no external force was used to effect their entrance into the ecclesiastical state, is witnessed by the fact that they became clerics in the convent of St. Maximin at Treves; for Charles would not have placed the sons of the Bavarian duke so near the Alemanni and the Bavarians if they had not voluntarily taken orders. It would have been an easy task for the party of the Bavarian dukedom, who had money and people enough for the purpose, to have carried off the young princes from the border of the Frank kingdom, from pure German territory.

The duchy of Bavaria was declared abolished, and was made a Frank province. Frank officials, doubtless Bavarians by birth, were appointed as administrators; the people retained their old rights and laws. Bavaria and the Nordgau, that is, the Upper Palatinate of later times, the principalities of Bayreuth and Anspach, Eichstadt, Bamberg and Coburg, and part of Swabia, were thrown together, and this new province of Bavaria was given to Gerold, count of Bussen, the brother of his deceased wife Hildegard, as chief governor and lieutenant of the king. The neighborhood of the Avars required the presence of this brave and skillful general—a man of simple character, popular, and unlike the overbearing and violent Franks. Gerold was as plain in appearance as any freeman of the Franks. The whole Frank army, it is related, was astonished to see its king hasten to meet a simple-looking man, saying, “I have long been waiting for thee, best of my friends”; to see him take off his helmet and kiss him. The Franks did not yet know that the plain man whom the king saluted so affectionately was the valiant and renowned Count Gerold, of the stock of the old Alemannic dukes, the leader of the three Swabian armies.

Gerold succeeded in gaining to his side the majority of the Bavarians; they followed him with enthusiasm, and with him and his Swabians gained great victories over their enemies on the East. And when disturbances in Bavaria were provoked by new intrigues by Liutberga, her house, and party, the most of the nobles and the people stood aloof.

These intrigues were kept on foot by means of the private property of the deposed ducal house. This had been left at the disposal of Thassilo and Liutberga, and must have been very extensive. In order that the ducal family might not, by means of this private property, excite new disturbances which could lead to no result, Charles adopted the harsh but necessary measure of confiscating these great revenues. At a diet of the kingdom at Frankfort-on-the-Main, in the year 794, the prince Thassilo had to appear and renounce his private property, the last thing left to him when throne, wife, child, and liberty had been lost. Thassilo died a pious monk in the convent of Lorsch. His two sons had died before him. With Thassilo died the last Agilolfing. Thus ended the old ducal family of Bavaria.

When Thassilo was compelled to bury all his fortunes in the cloister, an embassy from his allies, the Avars, came to King Charles at Worms. He received the bar-

barians in royal state; he wore a coat embroidered with gold, shoes adorned with precious stones, golden clasps to his mantle, the crown on his head, and a sword with jewels on hilt and scabbard. Usually he was clothed as simple as the simplest of his subjects. His dress was a linen vest, and linen hose which his wife and daughters had made, a coat with a silken stripe, and colored braids crosswise over the hose and stocking. At times he threw over all a white or green mantle; in the winter, a vest of otter-skin protected his chest and shoulders. He always wore one of his swords, which a man of our days can scarcely lift, and the clasp and slings of gold were the only kingly ornaments he usually wore.

In 788, soon after Thassilo's arrest, the Avars, in accordance with the secret invitation, and without suspicion of Thassilo's fate, had entered into Bavaria and the Friul simultaneously; but Gerold had repelled them at all points. The negotiations which the Avars entered upon with King Charles respecting the boundaries of the empire, had resulted in war. Their robber hordes—perhaps to deliver or to avenge Adalgis, or, if he were dead, at the instigation of Liutberga or the royal family of the Lombards—had entered Italy by the Friul on one side, and crossed the Danube into Bavaria. At the same time the Saxons, who had been drawn into the league, threatened the kingdom in the north. Not till 791 did Charles, with his army of Franks, join his brother-in-law Gerold. Charles advanced with three armies for a war of extermination against these new Huns. Charles's son Pipin led one from Italy into the territory of the Avars, the present Hungary and archduchy of Austria. Pipin, or rather Gerold, who was with him, was victorious on this side; on the other, Charles in person led the chief attack towards the end of summer. A part of the Avars were driven back to the plains of the Theiss; in one campaign Charles had conquered the country from the Ens to the Raab. The farther conduct of the war was left to his brother-in-law Gerold, who is the same as "Gerold the standard-bearer of Charles," or "Gerold the count of the Avarian March." The war lasted till the third year of the next century. The Avars who had been driven back to the Theiss were defeated and subjugated by the Bulgarians. The other Avars resisted the Franks for a longer period, till internal discord weakened them so that even their chief army was defeated. Discord between their chiefs was their ruin. In 795, one of their chiefs separated from the others, and offered his submission to the Franks, with the addition that he was willing to be baptized. Both offers were accepted. The party-war among the Avars was now so violent that the two chiefs perished in an insurrection of the people.

These confusions were used by Gerold, who still conducted the war, although nominally Pipin was in command. He sent on a winter campaign against the Avars two of his generals, Erich, the Frank Marquis of Friuli, and Woinemir, duke of the Slavonic Carantans (Carinthians), who, in the time of Boniface, had in part become Christian, and settled in the highlands of Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria, but for the most part were still heathen, yet nevertheless deadly enemies of the Avars. He himself marched with the main army, after the generals had taken one of the fortifications of the Avars, for the purpose of surprising the other.

The Avars had surrounded their villages with circular ramparts composed of trunks of trees. These camps and palisades were called by the Franks "rings"; they were nine in number. Behind the last ring, the chief stronghold of the Avars, was the seat of the khan, and of the treasures which the Avars had amassed for centuries by their inroads into the eastern empire, and down to the Adriatic Sea. When this fortress was stormed, the new khan submitted. The Franks gained as booty all the treasures of the Avars. A portion was sent to the church of St. Peter at Rome, a portion deposited in Charles's treasury at (Aachen) Aix-la-Chapelle. Yet so much remained that the three Frank armies—that of Gerold, that of the Marquis of Friuli, and the Duke of Carinthia—became rich in the strictest sense; the captured treasures were so extraordinarily great that it is said they "put down the value of money for a long time, and for ten years thereafter the price of provisions was advanced one-third." In the summer of 796, the country was so far subdued that the last chieftains followed the example of the khan and the others, and did homage to the king of the Franks as their over-lord.

## CHAPTER IV.

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DETACHED REVOLTS OF THE AVARS—CONSPIRACY OF PIPIN THE HUMP-BACKED—CONVERSION OF THE SOUTH SLAVES TO CHRISTIANITY—ALCUIN—ARNO AND THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF SALZBURG—OPENING OF COMMERCE WITH THE EAST—CAMPAIGN OF CHARLES AGAINST THE MOORS AND THE SPANISH MARCH—REVIVAL OF THE GERMANIC AND CHRISTIAN STATES IN SPAIN.

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N as early as the next year, a part of the Avars repented of their submission to the Franks. Discord raged fiercer than ever among the Avars; some clung to the heathen faith of their fathers, and were ill disposed to those who were baptized; others found the advantages of living under the protection of the Franks greater than disadvantages of losing their national customs, especially those of them who Christians. In consequence of these divisions among the insurrection of the discontented was feeble; it was a people's war. Gerold, indeed, had to march against them, and in one of their campaigns this best general of the Franks was "the dearest of his men," fell by the sword; but the Franks were everywhere victorious. The Avars made a stand in the open field, but chose mountains, or morasses for their defences. Charles himself did not go to the East; his son Pipin, who kept improving under his guidance, brought the conquest of the barbarians to an end after the death of the latter.

While Charles, after his first campaign against the Avars, was wintering in Ratisbon (Regensburg), a conspiracy against him and his house was formed within his own kingdom in the year 792. Queen Fastrada, with her cruel and overbearing disposition, was, as Eginhard expressly says, the cause that provoked this conspiracy. During the long absence of Charles, the behavior of this wicked woman inflamed with deadly hatred the lay and clerical Franks who were compelled to be at the court. Particularly Charles's eldest son, whom Himiltrude had borne him, Pipin the

Hump-backed, experienced the insolence of this mischievous queen. This Pipin, handsome in countenance and only deformed by a hump, had always been regarded as the first in rank of the royal children, and was happy as long as Hildegard lived, who was no stepmother. But when Fastrada entered the palace, he was publicly degraded. When his father was absent in the war against the Avars, and Fastrada ruled uncontrolled in the palace, the prince, whom Charles had left sick at home, was treated with cruel indignity by his stepmother. The courtiers, already sufficiently injured and embittered, drew the insulted prince into the conspiracy against his stepmother, and even against the life of his father and half-brother. Pipin was beguiled by the prospect of the throne. The conspirators represented that they could and would have him elected king of the Franks. If they concealed from him, as is probable, that the murder of the king was a prerequisite, it shows that the intellect of the prince cannot have been strong.

The court of the queen was at Verdun. The conspirators deliberated about the necessary measures in one of the churches, perhaps the cathedral, for the bishop of Verdun was afterwards reckoned one of the conspirators. As they are about leaving, they discover a monk who had hidden himself behind the altar and listened. Fardulf, a Lombard by birth, was the monk's name. The conspirators do not put it out of his power ever to utter word more, because perhaps he was a Lombard; they are content with making him swear eternal silence. The monk, as soon as he escapes, hastens to the king at Ratisbon, and reveals the whole proceeding. The conspirators are seized, and, at a diet held at Ratisbon, some are condemned to lose their lands and lives; among them, the king's own son. Some are beheaded, some hanged, as convicted of having contemplated the death of Charles, his wife, and other sons, and the elevation of his first-born son Pipin to the throne. The less guilty accomplices got off with blinding and exile. Charles, however, did not put his son to death. He gave him the tonsure. He died in the Abbey of Prüm, near Treves, in the ninety-first year of his life, having long outlived the prosperity of the house of Charles the Great; he saw with his eyes its downfall, perhaps a sign from Heaven that he was less guilty, and that the unscrupulous Fastrada had woven the plot. The monk Fardulf was endowed with the Abbey of Saint Denis, at Paris.

The Frank Erich, Marquis of Friuli, and the Slave Woinemir, duke of the Carantani, with his Slaves from Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria, had aided the Franks in their victories over the Avars. King Pipin and Gerold had had only few Franks proper; the mass of the army probably consisted of Alemanni and Bavarians. In the campaign of 791 numerous bands of Saxons and Frisians had followed King Charles against the Avars; there undoubtedly were numerous volunteers from the North Germans in these campaigns, in which there was always some booty to be got.

The Slaves were the more eager, because they had so long suffered horribly from the Avars. These South Slaves were much more ready than the North Slaves to accept the double change to the Christian faith and to subjection to the Franks. The fair border countries, out of which the Avars retired to the east, and which were

without owners or inhabitants, were given by King Charles to the Bavarians as a reward for their valor against the Avars, and for the fidelity with which they had kept their oath of allegiance. Other German races received like favors, as did troops of Slovaks and Croats; and those Avars who had renewed their oath of allegiance, and submission down to the year 803, were left undisturbed in possession of their country; they retained their khan and a show of independence, the right of taxing and governing themselves.

The German armies had scarcely withdrawn when the Slaves, who hitherto were subjects of the Avars, particularly the Moravians, began to pay to their old oppressors a double return for what they had suffered from them. In their distress, these Avars demanded from the king of the Franks protection and a dwelling on the west bank of the Danube. Charles gave them a settlement in the present archduchy of Austria, Upper Hungary near Presburg, and in Carinthia. As the Slaves in Moravia continued their ill-treatment of the Avars, King Charles brought the Slaves to order with a heavy hand. These last events took place between the years 805 and 811. After the year 803, when the chiefs renewed their oaths of allegiance to Charles, the Avars remained his true subjects, furnished troops and in peace tilled their lands. Among the Avars, as in the case of other warlike races, this last circumstance is connected with their conversion to Christianity and their adoption of Christian civilization. Whole hordes of Avars, that eminently warlike race, were baptized, and Christianity revived in the lands in which it had bloomed early, but had long been dead. These Avars, a few decades before so rude and savage, cruel to insensibility, even when possessing immense treasures without feeling for the arts which beautify life, given over, in their wild kind of heathenism, to brutal desires, swaggering and carousing, in possession of beautiful regions which they despised to cultivate and which they let lie waste, known only as the tormentors of their subjects—were changed in a few decades into peaceful settlers by the faith and morality of Christianity. The result shows that these Avars were very susceptible to the new faith presented to them.

The baptism of these heathens was not brought about by compulsion and the sword, as Charles converted the Saxons.

The Anglo-Saxon Alcuin, the noblest and most Christian of Charles's privy councillors, had impressed on him, "Instruction must precede baptism; the holy baptism of the body is useless if, in a soul possessing the use of reason, the acknowledgment of the Christian faith has not gone before." Alcuin's friend and spiritual disciple, Bishop Arno of Salzburg, was the chief agent, the active apostle to the heathen, who, working in Alcuin's sense, converted the Carinthians and Avars to Christianity. Charles, therefore, raised Salzburg to an archbishopric, that is, in the spring of 798 he procured its elevation by the Pope, who had to do what Charles ordered. Arno had been bishop of Salzburg since 785, and at the same time one of Charles's privy councillors whom he consulted on the gravest state affairs. The new archbishop of Salzburg became the ecclesiastical centre of all the country then called Bavaria, with which the Avarian March was reckoned. This was called the markgraviate or marquissate of

the Eastern land; in modern days, Oesterreich or Austria. This part of the great Frank empire, won in a double sense, formed a strong German and Christian defence towards the East. For the converted Avars soon became German. They became peasants paying tribute, united with Germans and Slaves, and became so assimilated that no trace of Avar peculiarities can be distinguished in this region. The possession of the same faith as the Germans and Slaves gradually drew after it the same customs and modes of life, and thus the Avar characteristics were lost in German or Slavonian.

The instruction by means of which Archbishop Arno's missionaries brought the benefits of Christianity to the knowledge of the Avars, was often peculiar. His chief missionary, Ingo, adopted by preference the following means: He invited lords and serfs to a banquet; to those who were baptized, even if they were mere serfs, the repast was served in vessels and plates of gold; to the unbaptized, even if they were lords, their food was given them in rude dishes—dishes, as he used to say, that one gave to "dogs." This palpable method of instruction was effective on lord and slave, and many other missionaries adopted it with brilliant results. They obtained from Archbishop Arno the money for such entertainments, and that he might not lack zeal or means for the work, Charles gave him one-third of all the revenue derived from the converts.

Archbishop Arno, as chief pastor, directed from his see of Salzburg the three Bavarian bishoprics of Freisingen, Ratisbon and Passau, the bishopric of Seben, afterwards Brixen in the Tyrol, and the bishopric established by Charles at Presburg. With the great talents which Arno had, he was one of the many whom Charles had the good fortune to seek and to find, and by whose co-operation and preparation he was enabled to accomplish his extraordinary task. Charles and Gerold worked with the sword and with popularity; Archbishop Arno, the statesman in the cassock, worked with them to extend the empire of the Franks and Christianity over all the districts which are now called Inner Austria and Hungary. The Frank kingdom now bordered in the East, in the lower Danubian districts, immediately on the territory of the Greek empire. Charles had previously taken from the Greeks the province of Istria, and he longed for the tract now called Illyria and Dalmatia; he cast an eye too on the city and territory of Venice. That the desire, once felt by the old emperors of Rome, to conquer the world was felt by Charles is undeniable, but in him it was united with the noble purpose of advancing the people spiritually, morally and materially. The evil Fastrada, his wife, had died in the year 794; the Swabian Liutgard, whom he married after her, died in 800. Charles, with his love of beauty, had hitherto married from inclination. The passion of ruling and civilizing became so overpowering after the death of so many wives, that he went so far astray as to sue for the hand of the Greek empress Irene, a beautiful and intelligent but corrupt and immoral woman. By the good fortune of Charles and the German nation, this project, in which Charles had in his eye only the extension of his power over the Eastern empire, came to nothing, as she was suddenly dethroned in the year 805.

All the territories lying on the Adriatic, which had been under the dominion of the



Greek empire, came partly by conquest, partly by voluntary submission, under the rule of Charles; Illyria and Dalmatia as well as Istria. The Slaves settled here were during the years 797 to 799 annexed by the weapons of the Franks. Even the old Romanic population of Dalmatia did homage to the victorious king of the Franks soon afterwards, and after a brief time, the city and territory of Venice followed their example. To recover these rich regions, the Greek emperor Nicephorus waged an obstinate war by sea and land from 806 to 812. The chief struggle was for the possession of Venetia. Charles was not successful on sea, and the length of the war, and his advanced age, made Charles inclined to peace. He gave up Venice, on condition that the Greek empire too renounce its ancient sovereignty over the wealthy commercial town of the Adriatic; Venice was acknowledged independent of both empires. Charles retained the northern part of Dalmatia inhabited by the Slavonic Croats, and gave the Romanic district to the Greek emperor. All other territory Charles kept.

Charles concluded this peace a year and a half before his death. In his conquest of the Avars he regarded not only the protection of the German Marches, but principally the opening of trade with the east; and in all his affairs of peace and war, he looked to the commercial interests of his kingdom as much, perhaps, as to the extension of Christianity and the concomitant transformation of rude races into citizens of a state. As the age was ruled by clerical views, and public opinion, for the most part, was formed by the Pope, the eyes of his contemporaries regarded Charles's merits with respect to education, industry and commerce less than his glory as the defender and extender of Christianity; and his victories over Avars and Slaves, like his earlier victories over Saracens in Spain, made him appear in the eyes of the nations as the heaven-sent "Champion of Christianity against the heathen."

Charles was not only humble before his God, and pious, but he believed he had a divine mission to make Christianity triumph over heathens of every sort, among which the Church of Rome reckoned Mohammedans, although they believe in one God, invisible and spiritual. His religious zeal and his ardent longing for fame were fused together, and he had, in early days, gladly seized the opportunity of wearing the crown of the "Hero of the faith" in conflict with the Moors, and completing what his grandfather, Charles Martel, had begun.

As long as the Caliph remained afar in Asia, each of his lieutenants in Spain, the Moorish emirs, played the part of a petty sovereign, and now many refused to bow to Abderrahman, the new Caliph of the West. In spite of the hate which divided the Christian from the Mussulman, some of these emirs, Ibn al Arabi, his son and son-in-law appeared in 777 in Paderborn at the court of King Charles, as fugitives, deprived by Abderrahman—it was during the diet at which a great number of Saxons were present to do homage and be baptized—and invited him to march towards Spain, as the emirs there would submit to him. They offered for themselves and other malcontents to do homage to Charles, if he would lead an army to their aid across the Pyrenees. They brought an assurance from Soliman, the highest of the Spanish

Saracen princes, and governor of Saragossa, that he would open to the Frank monarch this strong city and all places under his command.

Upon this Charles, in the spring of 778, marched with two detachments by two roads towards Spain; one advancing through Rousillon and Cardagne, the other, under himself, crossing by the road from Bayonne to St. Jean Pied de Port, over the wild mountain range into Spain. At present, with all the improved means of communication, there are only three passes of the Pyrenees practicable for horses and wagons; the others are mere mule tracks. Nothing terrified Charles and his men, neither the cliffs towering to heaven, nor the steep, jagged mountain peaks, nor the summits glittering with eternal snow and with glaciers, nor the narrow steep paths, nor the rushing mountain streams and torrents which roared through the desert silence of the valleys, nor the solitudes of the mountains where no inhabitants existed, no cultivation appeared.

Pampeluna was stormed and destroyed by the Frank after a frightful resistance by the Saracens; he had previously defeated an army of the Moors as he descended from the mountain. But Saragossa did not open her gates as had been promised; it resisted for a long time, although the discontented emirs joined the Franks in the siege. When the fortress fell, Charles gave it to Ibn al Arabi, who was compelled to give much gold and hostages for his loyalty. All the emirs between the Pyrenees and the Ebro submitted to Charles and received their lands from him in fief as vassals of the Frank crown; they all had to give hostages for their loyalty, and in addition, the walls of Saragossa were razed. To these newly conquered districts Charles gave the name of the "Spanish March," and appointed a Frank as Warden of the Marches or Marquis thereof.

The main force of the Moslems had collected beyond the Ebro. When Charles was about to cross the river and defeat the "heathen" on the West, there came tidings that the kingdom was threatened from the North by the "heathen" Saxons, and thus Charles was compelled to interrupt his course of victory in the West. But as the war was brilliant in its commencement, so at its conclusion the unforeseen dangers were great and the losses considerable. The emirs hostile to the Caliph of Cordova had summoned him to the expedition, but on his retreat he found enemies among the Basques.

The Frank army had reached six miles from Pampeluna, and the greatest portion had traversed the dangerous passes, when the rear-guard of the Franks suddenly saw the road barred, themselves surrounded and surprised in the Valley of Roncesvalles.

The rear-guard was winding its way, like a steel-clad-serpent, over the lofty range, by a narrow path overshadowed by the forest, and overhung by precipices. The nature of the country, the narrowness of the pass, permitted no other form of march than a broken and loose line. Here the Basques rush forth—the thickets had concealed them in their ambush—and fall on the unsuspecting Franks. One portion of the Basques plunder the baggage and slay the camp-followers. Another portion

suddenly appearing from forest and rock, occupies the heights which command the gorges, and hurl, by their first onset, the troops covering the baggage-train down into the valley of Roncesvalles; surprised, unacquainted with the locality, encumbered by the weight of their armor in these narrow defiles, the Franks themselves seek the low ground of the valley. But here from all sides, in front, in rear, the light-armed

Basques, who have all the advantage of the ground, throw themselves on the heavy-armed Franks, and disperse in confusion the detachments of the Frank rear-guard. Attacked on the rocky path above, many Frank warriors had already been hurled down into the abysses, many slain, but here the fight in the valley is destruction. There falls in the struggle the Seneschal Eckhard, the hero of the later popular legend of "Eckhard the Trusty," the high-steward of the king; here falls the Count Palatine Anselm, his chief justiciar; here falls Hruotland (Roland, Orlando), the Marquis of Brittany, one of his bravest heroes. With these high dignitaries fall many other nobles. All the fighting men of the rear-guard, gentle and simple, down to the last man, are slain; the defeat is complete. The darkness comes on, and the Basques, laden with booty, vanish into the depths of the forest, leaving no trace. When the advanced portion of the army, informed by fugitives of the distress, turned

hastily back, it could find no enemy on whom it could take vengeance for the destruction of the rear-guard. But fate soon after delivered to Charles the originator of all this misfortune.

The exiled duke of Aquitaine, Lupus (Wolf, Welf), who had fled to the Basques and been elected their chief, had projected and led this attack on the Franks. He could not forget what Charles had done to his house, and determined to avenge on

Charles the fall of himself and his house. His project was to destroy or capture in the passes of the mountain the whole army of Charles, but it succeeded only in part. This partial success, however, was a satisfaction to the revenge nourished by the deposed duke. This rejoicing was of brief duration. He was captured by the Franks, whether in battle or by treachery on the part of the Basques, is uncertain. He was brought before King Charles, judged according to the laws of the Franks, and, in accordance therewith, hanged. The saga current among the people said this duke of Aquitaine and chieftain of the Basques was one of the last descendants of the Merovingians.

Charles made a politic concession to the national pride of the Aquitanians and the Basques, whose fidelity to the kingdom had been so useful, whose hostility had been so destructive. The two sons of Lupus were not made to expiate the treason of their father; they both received the ducal dignity, one over the larger, the other over the smaller half of the Basques. Till their majority, Frank counts conducted the government in their name; the young dukes were brought up at Charles's court. Adalrich, the eldest, soon after he came of age, revolted, was defeated and deposed, but continued the struggle against the Franks till he perished in battle. The office of duke over the whole Basque territory was given by the king to Sancho, the younger brother. Sancho remained devoted to the king, and under him, and by his influence, his people, Aquitanians as well as Basques, gradually became reconciled to the loss of their independence, especially as Charles gave them a show of independence by the creation of a kingdom of Aquitaine, and by naming as king his third son by Hildegard, the three-year-old Ludwig, who was anointed by Hadrian the Pope. Charles told the Aquitanians that he gave them a king born in their own land. In fact, Hildegard had given birth to her son while accompanying Charles to Spain; she reached Chasse-neuille, near Angoulême, and there gave birth to twins, Lothar and Ludwig, the eldest of whom soon died. The new kingdom of Aquitaine was formed from the duchy of Aquitaine and the Basque districts in one direction, in the other from the last possessions of the Westgoths in Gaul, the modern Languedoc and Rousillon, from the new conquests of Charles beyond the Pyrenees, and from a portion of Burgundy.

During the nonage of Ludwig, royal officers named by Charles ruled in his name; but the new kingdom had from its commencement a separate court and distinct administration. The inhabitants of the kingdom had the task of continuing the war of the Cross against the Crescent; religious zeal or hopes of booty gave the stimulus, for whatever in goods or land was won from the Mussulman by these frontier guards of the Frank kingdom, belonged to them. The party struggles among the Mohammedans continued long, and the party of Spanish Moslems inclined to the Franks facilitated the conquest of Spanish territory by the Aquitanians and Basques as well as by the Franks themselves. In the year 801, King Ludwig, now in his twenty-second year, captured Barcelona, the strongest advanced post of the Mahometan power in Spain. The "Spanish Marquisate" founded by Charles had been extended to the Ebro. The restoration of the rule of the Cross on this territory had a powerful

influence on the remains of the Westgoths who had been driven by the Crescent into the Asturian and Cantabrian hills. Without Charles's invasions of Spain, without the establishment of Frank power on Spanish soil, Christianity and Christians would soon have vanished from the north of Spain. The Westgothic king, Alphonso II., in gratitude for the support afforded him, called himself, in letters to King Charles, the "vassal" of the Frank kingdom.

Charles thus laid the foundation for the revival of Christian states in Spain. From this victorious beginning, Christianity made advances on this side, and gained from the Mahometan faith one piece of territory after another till it had expelled its enemy.

Charles, celebrated by all Christendom as the champion of the faith, long bore deep sorrow in his heart for the fate of his favorite Roland in the valley of Roncesvalles. In folksongs, in lays and poems of the French and German Middle Ages, the Fight of Roncesvalles became immortal, and around Roland in particular a blooming wreath of sagas arose. The tale of Roland and his horn was born under a Spanish sky, has made the tour of Europe, and been sung in the valleys of Iceland; we still have the runic verses containing it. In this tale Roland is called the nephew of Charles—is the giant-killer who, with word and sword, fights for the Christian faith. Ganelon is the traitor who brings destruction on Roland and his comrades. His steed Falerich is slain, his precious helmet Venerant no longer protects the hero's head; in his need Roland sounds his horn Olifanta. This magic horn is of ivory, and has the power of being heard at a distance of fifteen miles. Roland gives a blast to call his comrades, now descending the farther slopes of the mountain; he blows so strongly that the veins of his neck burst, and Charles, far away in France, hears the sound, and has a foreboding of the sore need in which his favorite knight is lying. When all is lost, Roland, with many lamentations, seeks to break his precious sword Durenda on a marble pillar; he grudges such a weapon to his foes. The pillar is cleft by the blow; the sword remains uninjured. Then commending his soul to God, Roland the hero passed away.

So runs the tale sung by many a troubadour and minstrel. A poem called the Lay of Roland was very famous in the Middle Ages. A French troubadour of the eleventh century, Theroulde, composed it. It became the battle-song in the field, the favorite song in the banquet of heroes. In the battle of Hastings, on the fourteenth of October, 1066, when William the Conqueror, duke of Normandy, gained the victory over Harold, king of England, the minstrel Taillefer sang the song to the harp before the battle began, and the Normans in chorus repeated the refrain. Down to the fourteenth century this lay was sung in France and England as a battle-song to inspire the army to deeds of valor. It is lost in its original older form; but fragments are said to be retained on the lips of the mountaineers of the Pyrenees. The Basques, in the craggy vales of their mountain home, still tell many a tale of Roland and of Charles, and flowers and cliffs bear still the name of Roland. There is still pointed out, three hundred paces from the Abbey of Roncesvalles, a sepulchre which

the monks describe as the tomb of Roland. It is a chapel, and in the midst is Roland's grave. Beneath the dimly-lighted vault are thirty burying-places of uncommon size covered with simple uninscribed stones. Beneath them Roland's comrades sleep.

## CHAPTER V.

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THE SAXON WAR—THE COUNTRY OF THE SAXONS—THE STRUGGLE WITH WIDUKIND AND ALF—ALCUIN, PRIVY COUNCILLOR OF CHARLES—HIS NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE IN OPPOSITION TO THE PRIESTLY PARTY IN THE COUNCIL—VIOLENT REMOVAL OF SAXONS FROM THE NORTH TO THE SOUTHEAST—OPPRESSION OF THE WIRMUODI-GAU.

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THE arms of Charles were victorious in all directions; all submitted to him, except one single people with whom he fought for thirty-three years. It was the German tribe of the Saxons.

The struggle of Charles against the Saxons has been usually written in a false light, and has for centuries been regarded in a false light by the German people. This struggle presents different appearances, as viewed from the Frank or Saxon side. The writers from whose pens we derive our knowledge of this war, the Christian priests, purposely or from bigotry, have obscured and distorted the causes and the progress of this war; fortunately for the Saxons, who were finally defeated, we have the testi-

mony of Alcuin, the noblest heart and the clearest head among the privy councillors of Charles. All the contemporaries who have written about this war are Frank

or Romanic writers, and Alcuin, not a Saxon of the continent but an Anglo-Saxon from Britain, is the only one who bears witness for his race. The true form of this thirty-three years war between King Charles and the Saxons can only be ascertained from an unprejudiced consideration of the circumstances.

In the first place, it was not a fight between Franks and Saxons, but between King Charles and the Saxons. This war assumed under Charles a form far different from what it had under his father or grandfather. His predecessors had defended themselves and their kingdom from the Saxons; Charles found himself compelled by circumstances to attack the Saxons, and to continue the war down to the subjugation and submission of the whole race. Charles Martel and Pipin had repelled the plundering inroads of the Saxons into the Frank territory, since, by the division of Thuringia between Saxons and Franks, they had been made immediate neighbors on all the north frontier. When any warlike complications took place in the east, south, or west of the kingdom, one or other of the Saxon tribes had availed themselves of the opportunity to make forays and raids into some one of the border lands of the Franks. Every revolt of any part of the kingdom had found sympathy among the Saxons; the Saxons not only supported by arms the revolts of the Alemanni and Bavarians—an assistance arising from the similarity of the object of the two East German race fighting for their old independence, and the interest of the free kingless Saxons—but they had been induced by the bishops of the Frank kingdom to attack repeatedly the Frank borders. Whenever any plot was concocting against the Frank king, the plotters found support and encouragement among the Saxons.

Hitherto the predecessors of Charles had been fighting with the Saxons as refractory neighbors who violated every treaty; in the case of Charles, his idea of unity, of a king over all German tribes and races, and his idea of universal Christianity in this kingdom, led to his war against the Saxons. Being the man he was, and inflamed by these ideas, Charles could not but strive to effect the submission of the Saxons at any price. He believed he had a mission from heaven; in both points he had an important mission.

While most of Germany was directly or indirectly under the sovereignty of the Franks, and had at least externally adopted Christianity, the Saxons remained still independent, free and heathen. This Saxon race, while the other German tribes all around it had been changing, alone remained unmoved in its old abodes, and therefore retained even in the days of Charles the faith and customs which it had held in primeval times.

More than seven and a half centuries since the days of the Cheruscan Arminius, and about five centuries since the formation of the Saxon league, had passed without important change, except that their constitution had become overpoweringly democratic by the banishment or subjection of the aristocratic families who, casting loving eyes on foreign lords, had often betrayed the race and nation. Although all around them the Germans submitted to the sceptre of the renowned Charles, and lived free beneath his sway, yet all the branches of the Saxon race clung steadfastly and



jealously to their "kingless" freedom as in the days of Arminius; and the political freedom of the Alemanni, Franks or Bavarians in the kingdom of Charles, in spite of numerous advantages, did not please them so well that they felt inclined to exchange for it their primeval freedom.

We have no proof that the Saxons at large had improved on their primitive civilization. Indeed, the rudiments of culture received by the Frisians from contact with the Romans seem to have decayed, and even the chiefs of the Saxons in Charles's time show themselves far inferior to the old Cherusicans and Arminius. The poetry of the Saxons which rings in the elder Edda and echoes in the second, while it has grandeur in thought and sound, displays much that is unpolished and uncouth, much that even if not perfectly rough, is in regard to artistic form unfinished, a great deficiency in the qualities that mark the nations of the interior of Germany, in depth of feeling and soul. These defects are not apparent in the heroic songs of the Lombards, or in the beginnings of Old French and South German poetry. The Anglo-Saxons who migrated to Britain, and the Frisians, received some culture from the Old Roman and Gallic population, and especially from Christianity. On the other hand, the five branches of the Saxon stock, the *Westphalians* on the Sieg, the Ruhr and the Lippe, and both banks of the Ems; the *Engern* on both sides of the Weser as far as the Leine; the *Eastphalians* as far as the Elbe; the *Frisians*, who are deemed a branch of Engern, and the people on the right bank of the Elbe as far as the Eider, the *Nordalbingians*, made no progress because they kept themselves shut off from the influences of Roman as well as of Christian culture. Their only progress had been in extension of their territories. They had employed the time of the "Great Migrations," and afterwards of the migration of the Lombard and other tribes, to push forward into the deserted districts. In the time of Charles the Great, after a portion of Thuringia had fallen to their share, the Saxons extended from the Eider to the confluence of the Fulda and Werra, from the Elbe and Saale to the Rhine. The whole northwest of Germany and a large district in the centre was therefore the land of the Saxons.

This Saxony had great extent, but the population stood in no proportion to this extent; any more than the civilization of the people did to the age in which they lived. It seems that the more democratic the constitution of the Saxons became, the more did the early Saxon federation break up into many, not hundreds, but thousands of pieces—into an anarchy indeed, but an anarchy of freedom. In the time of Charles, nothing but their religion and their pride of race bound together the numerous Saxon cantons; a common head of the whole race, such as had existed among the East and West Goths, the Alemanni and Bavarians had not been seen among the Saxons for centuries. Not even each of the five branches had a head, but each community, as in old days, retained its elected alderman, and the limits of the township or canton were not great. Scarcely two places in the Saxon territory could, in the time of Charles, be called cities, and these deserved the name only because they were strongholds. There was no civic population, no trade or commerce there. The land was rough and savage, poor in gold and crops, rich in heaths, immense woods, swampy morasses,

especially towards the north and east. In many districts the families did not live together in hamlets or villages, but in isolated farms. A brook, a hill or a forest formed the boundary of each canton. A poor and rude roof sheltered wife and child, they had no further protection from the weather. The game which his forests supplied in abundance, the fish in the river, and his cattle furnished the Saxon's chief support; the cattle were pastured wherever pasture was found. War and plunder gave him booty.

The freemen of the Saxons were divided into three classes: the Nobles, now small in number, but influential by their wealth, the Freelings or Fully Free, and the *Lassen* or Vassals. This last class was numerous and consisted of men without possessions of their own, who occupied lands on the properties of the fully free and the nobles; subject to a kind of feudal tenure, but personally free.

In all parts of Germany, the Saxons, in the time of Charles, were considered the "wild Saxons." They passed for being more savage and cruel than any other foe, and as crafty and artful barbarians. From early time down to the late Middle Age they bore a character of being not fit to be trusted; the sequel will show that oaths and treaties were held as nothing by the Saxons when Franks were concerned, and that they differ in this respect from the Suevi and Alemanni; a proof that their morals were less elevated than those of these German brethren. The Cherusci in the days of Charles were undeniably lower in the scale of morals than the old Cherusci of the days of Arminius; they had become savage. So much the more had the time come to make them Christian, and thus instil moral principles.

But this was for various grounds a heavier task with the Saxons than with other Germans. The Saxons saw that wherever Charles and his father had carried Christianity, three things came into the country—a numerous priesthood, a Frank feudal nobility, a swarm of tax-gatherers. They regarded baptism as a mark of servitude. Under their old gods the Saxon, man or woman, was free, quite free; the power of the priest or of the noble was something unknown on Saxon soil. They had hitherto paid no tithes or taxes, either to a priesthood or to a foreign or native court; the soldiers and tax-gatherers of no court had touched the house and home of the free Saxon.

Among the ancient Greeks, as soon as the gods of light had conquered the Pelasgian gods of darkness, each man was free; that is, the power of privileged classes ceased as soon as the mutually connected priestly class and hero-class had been driven from the country by the spirit and arm of the people reasserting itself. To hate priestcraft and be free, was the watchword of the Greeks in the flourishing time of their states. It had been so among the old Germans; and in Charles's time it was so among the Saxons in the highest degree. They had no priestly class. For a whole population, we find only one priest and two assistants; and usually each head of a household was the priest of his family and offered sacrifice. They had no temples, but only "Haine" or holy places cleared in the forest, with places for sacrifice, and thousand-year-old oaks, with seats placed around for solemn feasts or popular

festivities. Here they celebrated their cheerful feasts of Nature to greet the Spring and the Winter; and other feasts between. For the feasts of the Saxons, like those of the heathen Germans in general, were of a cheerful character, with banquets, dances and songs. The summer sacrifice was offered for the harvest, with fires kindled by night in the plains and on the hills; maidens adorned the altars with the fruits of the year, and hung wreaths on the trees that surrounded the "holy" space.

Here too their assemblies were held; the meetings of the canton or *gau*, the great national meetings at the consecrated meadow, where three or seven holy oaks stood together, and where a holy stream rushed by. The cantonal meetings consisted of the freemen of the several divisions; the great meeting of the nation, the *Landtag*, consisted of elected deputies from each canton; each canton sent twelve nobles, twelve freemen, twelve *lassen* to the diet which was held every year; in it the Saxons discussed the affairs of the nation, and decided on peace or war. And when war was resolved on, and the Saxon army had to march against the enemy, here they elected their dukes, or leaders for the campaign. The electors were the deputies of the three free classes who had been sent to the diet by all the cantons. The general was elected without any regard to nobility; he could be chosen from any of the three classes. Valor and distinguished service in war decided the election. The judge of the canton, the alderman, was always chosen from the nobles, while the head of the Mark or district could be chosen as they liked, from any one of the three classes of freemen.

The weakness of the Saxon military power as compared with the Franks lay in the fact that in war as well as in peace they had no collective head, no supreme ruler for the whole of the nation. While the Franks had in the king or his lieutenant, a commander for the collective Franks, such an officer had not existed for centuries among the Saxons, but each tribe elected for the campaign its own separate leader. The Eastphalians had their own duke, so had the Westphalians, so the Engern and the others. There was a thorough want of unity in command, of a strong connection of military forces which in themselves were formidable. From this cause the Saxons on the whole, in spite of some victories, would have remained during the thirty-three years war inferior to the Franks, and must necessarily be at a greater disadvantage when opposed to Charles, the powerful head of the Frank kingdom, especially as the Franks, who had long been Christians, had been excited by a fanatical priestly class against the Saxons, by priests who taught them that the "religion of the Saxons was a devil-worship, their deities were fiends of hell," and that war against them was a war against "worshippers of evil spirits."

Charles took into the field with him the relics of the saints; a host of priests followed his army between the mounted men and the infantry; abbots, priests, clergy of every rank, not as chaplains of the Frank army, but as missionaries; men who, settling on the territory of the Saxons, would convert them to Christianity, and found for themselves churches, abbeys, bishoprics. Before the Saxons expected it, Charles in person was on Saxon soil in the year 772, and as he found no Saxon army collected,

he ravaged Westphalia with fire and sword. "By stratagem"—the Frank accounts allow this—he got possession of the Eresburg, the stronghold of the Saxons on the right bank of the Diemel, where now Stadtberge lies in the circle of Paderborn.

The Eresburg was named after Eor or Er, the god whose wisdom directs the battle. Another name for him among the Saxons was "Saxnot," that is, Odin's brother-in-arms, an indication that as in the religion of the Greeks, so among the old Germans, the gods were only personifications of qualities of the one god Odin or Wodan. This war-god is named in the Scandinavian North Tyr, in Upper Germany Ziu, as well as Eor and Er, his Saxon name. The Saxons also called him Tiu, and after him the third day of the week is named in German Dienstag, in English Tuesday, in Alemannian also Ertag or Irtag (Ersday or Irsday). The Eresburg was therefore dedicated to the god who directed the battle; and not far from it, in the consecrated district in the Egge mountain range, was the great national sanctuary of the Saxons, in which stood the Irmensul, an ancient mighty tree, holy to all the Saxons. It is supposed that this tree was to the Saxons an emblem of the "Tree of life and time" of which their poets sang, whose roots penetrated the world, whose top overshadowed heaven, whose boughs extended over the universe, at whose feet the gods sat in judgment. That the Irmensul (*sul*, *säule* in old German, a straight tree-trunk) was such an emblem is confirmed by their holding beneath the Irmensul their national diet, their law proceedings, their popular festivities.

It may be, that near the Irmensul was a memorial of the old Cheruscan prince Arminius; we read indeed that a statue of Arminius was found; the hero was in armor on a marble pillar eleven feet high, the base of the pillar was two ells thick and made of rough calcareous stone, rings of copper and in part of gold surrounded the pillar.

The size of the Saxon sanctuary was large. Beside the holy spring at the foot of the Irmensul, in whose sweet waters the weary army of Charles quenched its thirst in the hot days, much gold and silver was found stored up, and spoils of early and late date hung up as offerings.

The Franks took three days to destroy everything belonging to this sacred precinct in the Eggegebirg. Charles then laid waste with fire and sword the land up to the Weser. The Saxons had no forces collected; they durst not venture to meet the Franks in the open field. The latter easily penetrated deeper into the country; the foremost cantons promised submission on terms which Charles offered them. He demanded twelve hostages, children of important men. They gave them. Charles then withdrew to Thionville on the Moselle, taking with him the hostages and the gold and silver offerings found in the Saxon sanctuary. The progress of the Lombards in Italy, the appeal for aid made by the Pope, and Charles's hope that Christianity, as it had favored him elsewhere, would open among the Saxons a peaceful path to Frank dominion, and bring this race too into a union with the other German races, under one God and one head—all these reasons induced Charles to conclude peace with the Saxons and cross the Alps.

Charles had stipulated, and the Saxons had admitted in the treaty, that the preaching of Christianity was to meet with no opposition. The Saxon chiefs who gave their children as hostages did not accept the treaty as implying that the children were to be made Christians at once. But the zeal of Charles to make everything Christian and his politic eye interpreted it otherwise; he placed the hostages, the children of free Saxons, in convents, and had them educated as Christians. These convents, it is true, were the educational establishments of the period, and Charles had his own son Lewis educated in one. The education was a careful one, and bore good fruit. But of course these Saxon youths, with their instruction in ancient Roman culture, received also instruction in Christianity, nay, were expressly prepared to propagate it in their native country—an evident breach of faith towards the heathen parents of the children.

Charles's zeal and policy worked successfully for the national and religious unity of all the Germans. The noble Saxon hostages contributed much in both respects. Afterwards many of them returned to the land of their birth to proclaim the religion of Christ. One of them was Ebbo, who became Archbishop of Rheims, and preached Christianity to the Danes.

This partial breach of faith on the part of Charles, this Christianizing of heathen youths by placing them in Christian convents, had the result of making the Saxons feel themselves less bound by such hostages. They now had no cause for fear lest Charles might kill their children, if their fathers and kindred violated the treaty. As far as concerned Saxon interests, these noble youths, who were made into Frank Christians, were in the eyes of every good Saxon regarded as lost. Charles put none of these hostages to death when the Saxons again revolted.

The troops of priests left by him in the territories of the Saxons to teach Christianity during the absence of the army, made themselves at home there, and continued in their zeal of conversion after the departure of the army; but they preached to deaf ears, and when Charles had crossed the Alps, the Saxons drove away the missionary priests, expelled the Frank garrison from the Eresburg, took by storm Siegburg, a Frank fortress on the Ruhr, and advanced into Frank territory, the Christian country of Hesse, as far as Fritzlar; they hoped to take vengeance on the church of that place for the desecration of their national sanctuary. But they were repulsed; the church of Fritzlar was saved.

We here see a proof of the change which now had taken place in this war. It was no longer a war of races, a war between two political principles, between freedom without a king on one side, and monarchy on the other; it was now a religious war, a struggle for the old gods, whom they feared to lose with their freedom, their independence, their ancestral customs; consequently, in many respects a holy war.

On the news from Saxony, Charles hastened from Italy; he swore to subjugate "the faithless and perjured Saxons," or destroy them forever. He recovered Siegburg in 775, placed a fresh garrison in the Eresburg, and pushed on to the Weser. The rapidity of his movements, his overpowering force—for he had summoned all the

forces of his kingdom—did not permit the Saxons to meet him in the field. The Westphalians alone ventured on a night attack.

The Westphalians, these Saxons of the Lower Rhine, were led by a hero in the full bloom of manhood, who had in him the stuff for a great general. This was the noble Widukind (Wittekind). In this struggle for life and death, the right man in the right place came forward and stepped on the stage. But he was not the leader of all the Saxons, he was merely the leader of the West Saxons, and he had the fate of Arminius—the jealousy of other tribes and their leaders did not allow the chosen chief of one tribe to be the supreme commander of the whole people.

A Frank detachment had been left behind by Charles in a strong camp near the modern Lübbecke, not far from Minden on the Weser; he himself had marched against the Engern and Eastphalians. Widukind surprised this detachment, and defeated it again and again; it would have been destroyed had not Charles come up in haste in time to save the remains of it.

Want of any idea of national unity, and the consequent want of unity in their military forces and of a single commander, here displayed themselves. Widukind had been victorious; Charles had defeated the Eastphalians so quickly that on his return he surprised the Engern and defeated them as the Eastphalians had submitted and given hostages. Thus Widukind, in spite of his victories, could do nothing against the collected forces of the Franks. He withdrew into the forests, and a portion of the Westphalians was reduced to give hostages to Charles. Terrible devastation was wrought by the four columns which Charles had sent out in the September of 774, and by the main army which entered the Saxon territory in 775; but this vengeance only embittered the Saxons, and Charles had scarcely left for the South to put down the revolt of the Duke of Friuli and other conspirators who were in secret alliance with the Lombard Adalgis and Arighis, when Widukind rose in his rear in 775, and again captured Siegburg. The terrible rapidity with which Charles, starting from Alsace, threw himself on the southern rebels, beheaded the Duke Rotgaut and deposed the dukes of Lombardy, deprived Widukind of his allies, the Lombard dukes; he had no accession of strength from his own country, and his previous success had not taught his countrymen that only under one leader, only under him, could they hope for safety or victory over the Franks, who fought under the lead of one commander, and who, moreover, were superior in numbers and resources.

With eagle speed, Charles stood once more in the Saxon provinces. The Saxons, still separated and in isolated bodies, without unity of command, had the fortune of the previous year. Unsuccessful in many battles, in presence of the enormous forces of Charles, by whom the Engern and Eastphalians had allowed themselves to be beaten in detail, each tribe apart, and who had already advanced to the sources of the Lippe, many Saxon nobles, with their followers, to obtain peace for themselves, promised submission and the adoption of Christianity. Many were on the spot baptized with their wives and children; among others, Hessi, the leader of the Eastphalians, and Bruno, Widukind's son-in-law, the chief of the Engern.

Charles now built castles in Saxony, and made a longer sojourn with his army in the country. But he could not remain there always; when he withdrew his army, an insurrection was certain. He was therefore exceedingly anxious to effect a reconciliation of these two great German races, the Saxons and the Franks. In the spring of 777, he held a great diet in the Saxon territory, in Paderborn. The Frank nobles were ordered to meet the nobles of the Saxons, the freemen of the Franks to meet the freemen of the Saxons. Nobles and freemen of the Saxons appeared in great numbers before the king. No opposition was heard. Charles's personal influence, his power to gain the hearts of men, affected most of them for the moment; Saxony appeared subdued, even many of the unbaptized were baptized in his presence, and promised to do what he requested—to follow his summons to the field, and in no way oppose the diffusion of Christianity in their country. Charles, however, had previously ordained that whoever opposed these two demands should lose his property and from a freeman become a serf, bondman or slave. This was a political mistake, the more so that the most considerable man of the Saxon race, Widukind, did not appear at Paderborn. Misfortune had not subdued him. He and a few friends had taken refuge in Jutland with his brother-in-law Siegfried, king of Denmark.

When Charles was beyond the Pyrenees, where the loss at Roncesvalles befell him, Widukind, in the days of May, 778, returned to his home on the Lower Rhine, and his countrymen, the Westphalians, revolted once more under his leadership. Canton after canton joined him; he sought, in the words of the Frank account, "to move heaven and earth against the Franks." They destroyed the churches which had been built, and drove away or slew the Frank priests, tithe collectors, and garrisons. To make a terrible example, Charles had let robbery, murder, and devastation run riot in Saxony; vengeance was now taken for his conduct. Widukind and the Saxons made a fearful use of the law of retaliation. They invaded the Frank territory, and, to show that their expedition was one of revenge, they poured in a torrent of murder and destruction as far as the Rhine. From Deutz, opposite Cologne, as far as Coblenz, farms, churches, convents, man and woman fell beneath their firebrands and their swords. They returned homeward through the Ober Lahngau. On the retreat, their rear suffered a defeat near Leisa and Bittenfeld on the Eder from a body of East Franks and Alemanni who overtook them; but the main Saxon army had withdrawn into the forests, and the pursuers did not follow them up.

King Charles flamed out in anger at this violation of their oaths by the Saxons; and Christian historians still talk of the "Saxons playing with oaths." But Charles and these writers have forgotten that Christian Franks and Lombards, from the time of Clovis, the kings of the Franks, Charles himself not excepted, had trifled with the most solemn engagements when it seemed to their advantage to do so; most of all had the Church thus trifled with oaths, that Romish Church which absolved from oaths on slight pretexts, which laid down the principle that oaths were not to be kept with heretics or heathen, and which had recognized as befitting a Christian the violation of pledges and promises made in the face of Europe.

Charles, in 779, and again in 780, marched into Saxony with all his disposable force. We have only Frank accounts of the struggle. Although the hosts of Charles overspread the country, the resistance of Widukind was obstinate. After a brave, fierce struggle on the Aa, near Bocholt, Widukind met Charles in the open field at Coesfeld. He was defeated, because he had no support from the Eastphalians and Engern, from the Frisians and Nordalbingians, and he again took refuge with his brother-in-law Siegfried in Schleswig. Deserted by their Saxon brethren, the Westphalians could do nothing but submit. Even the Eastphalians and the Engern submitted and gave hostages before Charles crossed the Weser, beyond which they were situated.

How must the heart of Widukind have bled to find his kindred acting thus ! How must the belief held by Charles have been strengthened, that only a few opposed him ! As canton after canton, tribe after tribe of the Saxons, submitted, Charles, in 780, crossed the Ocker. This soil of the Nordalbingians had never felt the tread of a Frank ; this last reserve of the Saxons, which had never taken part in a general war, now submitted ; nobles and freemen hastened to the camp of Charles at Orheim, where the Ore flows into the Elbe.

The Saxons were baptized in crowds. But the conduct of Charles was unchristian. He made the population baptized at Orheim take an oath of submission of the strictest kind. Every Saxon was to be executed "who burnt the dead after the old fashion, avoided baptism by flight, or eat meat on fast-days. Every Saxon was to be fined in money or land who, within the space of a year, did not have his children baptized, or who offered prayers at a spring, a tree, or a grove."

The royal decree thus imposed Christianity like a yoke on the heathen Saxons. The punishment of death was inflicted for adherence to heathenism, that is, to their primitive faith and old freedom. He was determined that every branch or twig of the German stock which had not yet submitted to the kingdom must sacrifice its sectional existence, and be bent or broken if it did not acquiesce in the unity of the kingdom.

The position of affairs in Italy again called Charles across the Alps ; the Saxons remained quiet, because powerful detachments of Franks remained in the country, and the Saxons were less united than ever. Returning from Italy in 782, Charles again proceeded to make the Saxons Christian and Frank, and to enforce on them, as he had on the Lombards, portions of the Frank institutions, especially in military and legal matters. He did this at a diet at Lippspring. In the country where popular freedom was native, where no one, except the person elected by the precinct, had ever been the head of a canton, Charles introduced heads of cantons named by himself, counts such as the Franks had. Some native Saxon nobles were made counts, and many were thus, by ambition and interest, drawn from their own people over to the Frank court ; but the majority of the counts were Franks. Frank nobles, spiritual and temporal, settled down on Saxon soil. In one important point the free Saxon constitution was broken down, the people were placed under foreign lords ; at the same time the Saxons saw how Charles encircled them with garrisons in the east,



west and south, and established others in the interior of their country. They saw how the Christian clergy, supported by the Frank military commanders, urged on the work of conversion, and how the new counts were hard tyrants. The Franks collected the tithes with great strictness by military companies from house to house, and demanded *corvée* or statute-labor for the building of churches, castles, and fortifications.

Such exactions made clear to all the meaning of the treaty which Charles had made with them. Widukind went to the Sorbians dwelling between the Saale and the Elbe, a Slavonic tribe, and excited them to invade Thuringia. When Charles directed his march against the Sorbians, Widukind stirred up the Frisians, who now for the first time took part in the war. He stood once more on his native soil, the avenger of his people, the champion of their injured liberty and faith. Charles recalled the army sent against the Sorbians, for the Saxons had again slain the Frank priests and tithe collectors, the Frank counts and their followers who harassed the Saxons; and the Saxons placed in office by Charles, Saxons of the Frank party, and therefore doomed to death, only escaped destruction by flight into Frank territory.

The army recalled from the Sorbian country is commanded by Charles's chamberlain Adalgis, his High Marshal Geilo, and the Palgrave (Count Palatine) Worad. On Saxon soil they unite with Count Dietrich, a relative of Charles, in command of troops of Franks from the Rhine and the Main whom Charles, at the first news of revolt, had dispatched in haste to Saxony. By advice of Dietrich, the position of the Saxons is reconnoitred, and they determine to attack before the revolters receive any accessions. The Süntelberg rises on the northern bank of the Weser between Minden and Rinteln not far from the stream. On the north side of this mountain Widukind has his camp and meeting-place. Under the notion that they have only a detachment of rebels before them, and jealous lest Dietrich, the king's kinsman, appropriate the credit of the victory the three leaders of the army intended for the Sorbians, resolve to attack the Saxons without him. Dietrich's camp is on the other side of the Süntelberg; the three generals cross the Weser. Widukind allows them to cross the stream, and, like Arminius, displays such skill in his movements that the three generals see themselves suddenly surrounded. They are defeated, almost annihilated. Adalgis and Geilo are among the slain, with four Frank counts, and twenty of the most illustrious nobles. A few fragments of the army reach the camp of Dietrich. To avoid utter destruction, Dietrich and the Palgrave Worad make a treaty with Widukind.

This is the battle of retaliation at the Süntelberg near the modern Haasberg.

But King Charles, enraged to see that all he had effected in the land of the Saxons was brought to nought, breaks the treaty concluded by his generals, surprises the Saxons with his immense forces, and invites nobles and freeholders to come to him. Relying on the treaty, four thousand five hundred nobles and freeholders appear. The policy which Charles had learned from the priests had found out on which heel the Saxons were vulnerable. The descendants of the population overcome by the Saxons when they occupied the country, the *Lassen*, or *Liten*, the numerous class of

men who were personally free but without property, and tenants or vassals of the freeholders and the nobles, could be separated from their feudal superiors.

The lot of this class was easier among the Saxons than elsewhere. They were the agricultural population, but liable to military service at the summons of their feudal lord. They formed the mass of the army, the nobles and the freemen the *élite*. The former were the soldiers, the latter the officers.

This rustic soldiery willingly followed their feudal lords in their short forays and incursions into Frank territory; the soldiers there had a share of the booty. But it was quite otherwise when Charles and the Saxon princes were engaged in a life and death struggle. This war did not concern the "Lassen," the old population of the country; it made no difference in their relations if their Saxon masters were victorious, they still remained "Lassen"; but a difference in their property was made by the devastation caused by the Franks to their crops and villages, by the long and repeated campaigns in which they had to serve to their own great loss, and which drew them from their occupations as well as demanded a sacrifice of their lives. It was a war which, however it might result, could affect only their masters.

The war then between Saxon feudal lords and Franks must at length become intolerable to this class of the Saxon inhabitants, even if the relation of dependence on a feudal lord was tolerable. And now came the great King Charles, and offered them more liberty than they had possessed under the Saxons, and made this a law for the Saxons in the treaties which he concluded with their chiefs. There came the Christian clergy, who especially exhorted this class of the Saxon population to become Christian; there came finally, in the year 782, proclamations from Charles making important concessions to the Lassen, the vassals of the Saxons, and granting rights hitherto reserved for the freemen. These concessions, and the repugnance felt by the dependent peasants for the long war which was so injurious to them, and yet was not waged for their freedom, separated the Lassen from the Saxon lords. And when Charles announced that he did not regard as a crime their participation in the late hostilities, as they were but servants obeying their lords, they did not accompany the nobles and freemen to Verden or the Aller; the lords were now deserted by their vassals who hitherto had followed them and formed the mass of the army.

The four thousand five hundred Saxons who did appear there, saw themselves suddenly surrounded by the Frank troops. Charles drew them from the ring in detachments, and beheaded without more ado the whole four thousand five hundred without exception in one day.

Charles wished to destroy the nucleus of the Saxon people, the main strength of their resistance.

But this evil deed, which stained forever Charles's royal robe, had not the expected results. The old Saxon freedom was not beheaded. All the distresses of their native country, all the risks to their liberties, had not yet brought the Saxons to unite in the struggle for existence. The blood of the four thousand five hundred Saxons who fell, not by the sword, but by the axe of the executioner, called out so loudly, kindled

such a flame, that now every tribe of Saxons united together in the terrible wrath of insulted and injured nationality. They all assembled, even those from the old Saxon settlements where there were no Lassen, but only freeholders. The whole Saxon people undertook to avenge the victims, to take vengeance on the Franks, the Lassen, the peasantry of the districts bordering on the Franks, who had left the dominant race of Saxons in the lurch. Widukind had not gone to Verden; he now reappeared, and for the first time saw himself at the head of the levy *en masse* of all the Saxon cantons.

Not far from the spot where Arminius defeated Varus, Widukind and the Saxons met the Franks led by King Charles in person. A pitched battle of great slaughter took place in 783, near the Osming in Detmold. Here the hitherto unconquered Charles, in spite of his superior numbers, was defeated by his great adversary Widukind, defeated so badly that he withdrew to Paderborn and did not venture on another battle till he had received reinforcements. But Widukind's army too had lost so heavily in the fight that he did not pursue the fugitives, but retired into Osnaburg to unite his forces with the contingents of the Frisians and Westphalians. For at Detmold the bulk of his forces had consisted of Eastphalians, Angrians and Nordalbingians. The reinforcements for Charles arrived speedily, and with his charac-

teristic rapidity, he threw himself on Widukind before the Frisian and Westphalian troops had come up.

In three great battles on the Hase, between the 23d and 29th days of June, 783, the Saxons and the Franks wasted their strength. Thousands of the Saxon youth sanctified with their blood the battle-field in what is now Vörden. At last the survivors of the Saxons give way; a portion throws itself into the Wieksburg, a stronghold of Widukind. But the army of Charles too was so weakened that he did not venture to remain among his defeated but not subdued enemies. He withdrew to the Rhine, full of rage, threatening that he would extirpate the whole Saxon people rather than renounce his conquest and its object, the conversion of these heathen. In the following year, 784, he again marched against the Saxons, with trifling success; the spirit of the Saxons was unbroken, and, under Widukind, offered an obstinate resistance. In 785, Charles again, with increased forces, attacked the Saxons. Desolating all the cultivated districts, he advanced as far as the Elbe in the neighborhood of Bardewick; he hoped by devastation to produce famine, and by famine to break the haughty resistance of the Saxons. But then arrived the news of the great league formed by Thassilo and Adalgis in the southeast. This intelligence determined the king to gain for peace the heads of the Saxon opposition at any price, and as soon as possible, before the forces of the Saxons were united to the revolted Thuringians, to Thassilo and Adalgis. He sent the Saxon Amalwein, who had long been a Christian and in the king's confidence, to Widukind and his friend Alf (Albio), and invited them under promise of a safe conduct to an interview with him.

Widukind and his friends deliberated upon this proposal of peace; the strength of Saxony was nearly exhausted, famine was approaching, Charles at the head of a terrible army—he had passed the winter in the Eresburg to show the Saxons that he did not intend to quit the country till he had subdued it—all these circumstances convinced Widukind and his friends that much could be gained by peace, everything risked by continuing their resistance. Amalwein himself was a friend of Widukind. Widukind knew the effect which the devastation of their dwellings, the destruction of their crops, and the threatened famine had made on the Westphalians and Angrians, the danger of alienating the people by further exertions, the danger which the disaffection of the people could bring on himself and the other leaders; the fate of the great Civilis was before his eyes. He therefore agreed with his friends, in view of the superior power of the Franks, to treat with the king for a peace guaranteeing their liberties to the Saxons.

The envoy of Charles found Widukind and Alf in the land of the Nordalbingians. Charles, after having given Widukind and Alf hostages for their personal safety, had returned to his kingdom in consequence of the southern complications; the interview took place at Attigny in Champagne. Charles had purposely chosen this magnificent palace, built by the Merovingian king Clovis II. Here was pure German territory—nobility, clergy, and commons were German throughout the district; the remnants of the Romanic population were here lost in the German, but the advan-

tages of the Romanic and the Gothic culture were displayed in the whole life of the people. Charles was anxious to exhibit all the advantages of Christian social life and its accompanying culture.

Widukind had not been, like Arminius or Civilis, accustomed to highly civilized states; he had been from youth a dweller in the wooded hills and vales of his northern home. And if the edifices of Italy and the splendid religious ceremonies of Rome so affected the great Frank Charles that his heart and soul were overcome by them, what must have been the effect on heathen Saxons of all that Widukind and Alf beheld, in church and policy, in the purely German territory of the East Franks in which Champagne was embraced! There was presented to them the view of the

customs and institutions of Christian life in the German districts through which they were conducted by Charles's envoys, the charm and power of Christian worship which had proved its power even on the more refined Goths; finally, Widukind felt the spirit and character of Charles, his mighty personal influence. King Charles received with great honors the noble Widukind at his court at Attigny, where the Saxon appeared with a large following. Charles welcomed him as one welcomes a new friend whose friendship is valuable. Widukind had brought with him his wife Geva. When he found himself, face to face, in confidential conversation with Charles the Great, who knew so well how to gain hearts, the two German heroes were quickly in harmony. Charles and Widukind were reconciled; all the Saxons were to have the same liberties as the Franks, but to enter gradually into the Christian church, and the great German united state, the Frank kingdom.

Widukind was great by the sacrifices of blood and property which he had made for his country and his countrymen, great through his ability as a general and the

heroic courage with which he, though beyond comparison weaker in position and resources, had for so many years continued the struggle against superior power; but he first appears truly great in our eyes when we see that Charles, who knew men so well, and had such bitter experience of Saxon oaths, trusted this man's word, and relied on it, in firm faith that he would keep this word once given, and would not break the peace.

Widukind and his friend Alf, the leader of the Eastphalians, impressed by their sojourn at Attigny, were baptized there. Charles himself raised Geva and Widukind from the font, and the followers of the two leaders, nobles and freeholders from Saxony, were all baptized and did homage to the king of the Germans. Thousands in Westphalia followed the example of Widukind, thousands of Eastphalians the example of Alf.

The Church has a legend which makes the baptism of Widukind and Alf the consequence of a miracle. She reckons Widukind among the saints. Legend has honored Widukind in many ways; but history only knows that down to his death he was zealous in building throughout Westphalia, especially in his own native district, churches and schools, defraying the expense from the large possessions restored to him, and from the contributions of other nobles and freemen, and zealous in extending the blessings of education, of learning, and of political institutions dependent on education, as well as the Christianity which enhances these blessings. The year of his death is not ascertained; the monks take no further notice of Widukind. Probably he died soon after his last great deed, in 804—after he had, to the contentment of all the Saxons, united to the great German empire the last tribes of the Saxons.

Charles had assured to Widukind and to Alf the dignity of dukes in their native districts; and the other nobles who followed their example in baptism and homage, received grants of lands and precious garments, and tokens of honor with a prospect of investiture in dignities and offices when the whole of Saxony was reconstructed as a part of the Frank kingdom. Widukind was induced to take his last steps by the conviction that further resistance to the new empire and the new civilization on which it rested would be fruitless, and that the Old as it was had no Future. But that things should turn out as they did, he had not expected of the Franks, least of all of Charles himself. The terms made by Charles with Widukind and Alf were not kept. And that Widukind is not named again in the chronicles of the Frank clergy, that is, the fact of his not appearing any more at the court of the king and emperor Charles, shows that Widukind condemned the action of Charles and his servants in Saxony as being contrary to the treaty; that he was indignant at and suffered in heart from the violence of the Franks. A son of the Saxon land, unspotted by Romanic education, like Widukind, had no suspicion, on concluding the treaty with Charles, that the diplomacy of a German king, the diplomacy sprung from the heathenism of old Rome and the Church of new Rome, so interpreted the conditions of the convention, that where the finger was given the whole arm would be taken. Yet Widukind kept his word, although Charles did not keep his.

Amalwein, the envoy of Charles, was a pupil of Alcuin. As in later days the emperor Frederick II. met quite by accident the youthful Peter de Vinea at Parma, so quite by what we call accident Charles met the young, free Anglo-Saxon Alcuin. The meeting of these two princes with these simple young men has been of the highest importance, for the princes themselves, for their people, for the development of mankind. But such meetings are not the result of accident; they are ordained in Heaven. As long as Frederick II. followed the advice of the vinedresser's son, Peter de Vinea, he stood well with his Italian subjects; when he listened to the Norman nobles, the dukes, counts, and barons, he lost his way and became involved in struggles which produced the downfall of his house. If Charles the Great had always hearkened to the advice of his privy councillor Alcuin, the free Anglo-Saxon, instead of his Frank nobles and Frank high-priests, the royal and imperial mantle would have escaped many an indelible stain, appalling blood-stains, which sank deep into the great man's soul, and made it appear soiled by evil deeds and perverted sentiments.

Alcuin was the man to whom, as a Saxon by birth, Charles confided the negotiations with Widukind, and who sent out Amalwein from the school he maintained at the court of Charles; and Widukind had had interviews with Alcuin at Attigny before he came to terms with Charles. The subsequent course of events shows that in the convention made with Widukind and Alf, there was no mention made of immediate acceptance of baptism by the Saxons, still less of the imposition of tithes; the terms were that the Saxons should enjoy the same liberties as the Franks, and not a word about compulsory baptism, but only stipulations for the propagation of Christianity by gentle methods. This is proved by the "Capitulation with Saxony," in the first article of which Charles allowed "due honor to the heathen religious rites," while granting "to the Christian churches in Saxony still higher honor." After the synod held in 567, at Tours, the Roman priesthood had labored to move the laity to pay tithes on the produce of trade as well as of the land. Pipin had promised the assistance of the temporal power, but the promise existed only on paper. The Franks paid tithe only so far as each was willing. After the year 774, Charles had made this decree of his father a general law, and had given commands to his officials to enforce the collection of tithes. But even this order for the most part remained on paper. The Church was rich by the tithes of the Romanic population, and was already prone to godless luxury; the German Frank paid tithe only when he liked. It is utterly false to say, as some late historians do, that Charles rendered all members of his kingdom, including himself, subject to tithe.

In one of his extant letters, Alcuin writes to his friend and sovereign Charles: "Among us in the Frank dominions, the nobility pay no tithe, the crown-domain pays no tithe. We who have been born, brought up, and instructed in the Catholic faith, are yet unwilling to be subject to tithe throughout. How natural, then, is it for the weak faith of these Saxons, with souls still in the stage of childhood, and hearts clinging to worldly possessions, to be unwilling to give generously to the Church! It is contrary to the Gospel, it shows want of statesmanship, to enforce tithes on this rude nation

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just entering the Christian church. The apostles were the disciples of the Saviour, sent by God into the world to preach the Gospel to all nations; is there anywhere an apostolic command to pay tithe? Did the apostles collect tithes by force? We know right well that tithes are good for our support; but it is better to let the tithe go than to bring disgrace on religion. We must carefully see to this also, that instruction precedes baptism—the external immersion of the body is useless unless an acknowledgment of the Christian faith in the heart has preceded the ceremony.”

But the words of his faithful friend Alcuin, the abbot of Tours, were at this time of less power than the flatterers and courtiers of the great king, the Roman priests and court chaplains, who had a good handle in the king's inborn fanaticism. Charles had at this period become spoiled, less by the conceit which often attacks the lucky victor, than by the diplomatic envoys and despatches of the Papal court. They—solely in the interests of the Roman papacy and the Roman clergy—drove him to cruelty. They increased his fanaticism by holding before his eyes the glory he would gain through converting to Christianity all the German nations, by telling him that this mission was given by Heaven, and the sword placed in his hand to baptize the heathen with blood and fire. When Alcuin said, “How can a man be compelled by force to believe what he does not believe? You can drive a man into the font, not into the faith,” the priestly party replied, “Everything is allowable to extend the name of Christ.” And Charles put upon the Saxons the most frightful pressure which ever the violence of a conqueror exercised.

Charles kept his promise to the Saxon nobility. As the Frank nobility and the domains of the crown were tithe-free, the Saxon nobles were tithe-free. But the Saxon freeholders were treated as if they were not included in the treaty. He heaped on the Saxon nobles lands and marks of honor, costly garments, money, wine, and other presents, and many chiefs were thus beguiled and gained. Charles hoped to produce a separation of classes, and to deprive the freeholders of their natural leaders, their best warriors, the military aristocracy. Towards the freeholders he pursued a system of terror.

At the moment a great part of the Saxon people were weakened by battles, by the devastation, plunder, and murder which the Franks had exercised during the protracted war throughout the exposed part of their country. They would have rejoiced in peace and repose, these exhausted Saxons, if the peace had been kept as meant. Charles, however, took advantage of this temporary weakness to establish, without regard to the treaty, the royal power, the Frank rule, the Catholic priesthood in the districts of Saxony nearest his kingdom. These lands were rent violently from their old existence, divided into counties and dioceses, and a system of administration introduced which placed all power in the king's hand, and made the king's will supreme. The laws passed at the diet at Paderborn by a majority of the Frank, certainly not of the Saxon nobles present, were put into force with the utmost severity by the newly established counts. These laws decreed death for slight transgressions against the commands of the Church, death for violations of the civil law, which,

according to old Saxon and German law, could be compounded for by a weregild or money payment. From these ordinances of Paderborn we can see in what light the heathen Saxons were represented by the priesthood, what fables they invented for the credulous Charles. The priests had made him believe that there were cannibals among the Saxons. For in the sixth article of the Paderborn ordinances, the punishment of death is threatened to every Saxon "who, by the instigation of the devil, believes a man or woman to be a wizard or a witch consuming human life, and who on this account burns such persons," and to every Saxon "who shall give the flesh of such burnt persons to any one to eat, or eat of the same himself."

Where persuasion and donations were of no use, at all points where the Franks had garrisons the Saxons were forcibly compelled to be baptized. Against all who refused baptism, Charles employed confiscation, fine, degradation from the position of a freeman to slavery, deportation, corporal punishment, mutilation, death. In the Paderborn ordinances we read, "Death is the punishment for whosoever burns a corpse according to heathen use; for every person of Saxon blood who is not yet baptized; who keeps in hiding after the proclamation of this law, delays to come to baptism, and persists in heathenism; whosoever eats flesh during Quadragesima; whoever prays to springs, trees, or groves, or offers there a heathen sacrifice, or whoever, in honor of the devil—thus were the heathen divinities named by the priests—takes part in the banquet, must pay a fine, sixty *solidi* if a noble, thirty if a freeholder, fifteen if one of the *Lassen* or *Liten*, and must remain, till the fine is paid, as vassal and serf of the Church."

Henceforward, in spite of the representations of Alcuin and Arno, instruction almost never preceded baptism; and for two reasons: The first was that the Frank and Romanic priests who had come into the country with the Frank counts and their soldiers, and under the protection of their ever-drawn swords, were ravenous for the tithes and other dues granted to them by Charles. As soon as the water of baptism had touched a Saxon body, he was bound to pay tithes and other dues to the Church. The priests, therefore, did not wait for the slow and uncertain result of Christian teaching as a preparation for baptism. The Saxons driven up to baptism by the rude feudal soldiery of the Franks, as well as those voluntarily offering themselves, were baptized with scant rites, in brooks, in rivers, in ponds, in lakes, either in groups or in a large body. The second reason was the character of Charles. He wished as quickly as possible to have the Saxons made members of the Frank empire and the Catholic church. The religious idea, and the accompanying idea of national unity among all German races, of a universal dominion of the German spirit and faith, which was only feasible by means of such unity, urged Charles onwards. But his natural disposition, his temperament, now childlike in Christian gentleness, now terrible and unbending, was the chief cause of these errors of Charles. He put down remorselessly whatever resisted the carrying out of his plans, and, without scruple, with Italian statecraft, he regarded corruption and treachery legitimate means for his ends.

But he sought, by less coarse means too, to allure the Saxon freeholders into the Church, and reconcile them to the Christian clergy. With this view, two articles were added to the Paderborn ordinances. By one, every criminal, even a murderer, who took refuge in a church, had free sanctuary till the next court of justice was held, and a safe conduct to the court. By the second, every criminal liable to capital punishment who voluntary took refuge with a Christian priest, confessed to him and did penance, was, on the testimony of this fact, relieved from the punishment of death, and life and limb assured him.

While Charles sought to attract to Christianity by such favors, he overlooked the fact that he was thereby giving the clergy a position higher than the temporal power; and that these favors, which of themselves might be able to reconcile the Saxons to the Church and its ministers, were quite cancelled by another article in which the tithe of property and labor granted to the Christian clergy and to Christian establishments was enforced on the Saxon cantons that had submitted, and by which the further impost was made that a house and two hides of land and two serfs from every hundred and twenty families must be ceded for the support of every church.

Charles had separated the nobility from the commons, and in great measure deprived the latter of their usual leaders; he wished likewise to keep the people divided among themselves. In order that it might not assemble and complain, debate and resolve, he deprived the people of the oldest of all rights, the right of meeting. All large meetings of the Saxons were forbidden under heavy penalties, unless they were called by the king's command by means of his envoys (*sendgrafen*). This was in violation of the treaty; Charles had engaged that the old Saxon law should remain unaltered. He proceeded still further. It was a principle of Saxon, and generally of German law, that the obligation of taking the field went no further than was requisite to defend the frontiers from immediate neighbors. In the convention of 785, Charles had made no mention that the Saxons were required to furnish military levies for expeditions against nations who were at the most remote distance from Saxony, and whose conflicts with the Franks did not concern them.

Nevertheless, in 787, troops of those Saxons who had accepted this convention with Charles, were compelled to accompany the Frank army in the campaign against Thassilo in far distant Bavaria. Policy told the Frank king that the Saxons could do him less harm if united to the Frank army than if left in his rear in the northwest; but it was contrary to the convention. Charles, as early as the year 780, had so thoroughly subjugated the Obodrites, a branch of the northwest Slaves in Mecklenburg, near the country of the Saxons, that he found in them ready soldiers against the Saxons. The Sorbians or Sorabians, between the Elbe and the Saale in the Margraviate of Meissen, thought differently from their kindred the Obodrites. They perceived that their subjection, the subjugation of the Slavonic races by the Franks, must follow the succumbing of the Saxon races. They had not, however, been so allied with the Saxons as to support them in arms, but had remained neutral in the struggles between the Saxons and the Franks. It was easy for Charles after his

Saxon conquests to put down the Sorbians. The Obodrites assisted them so to do, and to make their Slavonic brethren in the northwest the Wilzen (Lutizier), in modern Brandenburg, subject to the Franks. These Wilzen, who dwelt on the Baltic coast between Warnow and the Oder, and who like the Saxons were declared enemies of the Franks, were overcome by the enforced assistance of the Saxons. The branches of the Slavonic race in their sectional spirit, allowed themselves to be subjugated one after another, while the whole never entered into the struggle at the same time or the right time. It fared with these northern Slaves when opposed to the Franks, as it had fared with the Saxons—as it had fared, in earlier days, with the many-branched German nation when opposed to the Romans.

Even in 791, during the first campaign against the Avars, the king of the Franks had levied troops from the Saxons of Widukind, and even from the Frisians. But these Saxons objected to do what they had not engaged by the treaty to perform, namely, to follow the king's banner beyond their own borders, in wars which, according to their ideas, did not concern them, and which dragged them from their homes to the distant East, where the service reduced them to poverty; for the vassals bound to military service served at their own cost, and thus the unceasing wars waged by Charles exhausted their private means.

When for the second time the Saxons were summoned in 792 to march against the Avars on the Lower Danube, and when Dieterich, the Frank count in Friesland, proposed to unite their forces with his own, he and the Franks were suddenly surprised by the Rustringians, Saxons of the district of Riustri on the left bank of the Weser near its confluence with the sea in modern Oldenburg. The Franks were crushed; the Frisians prevented from joining the army. The Saxons had borne their lot for seven years. The continued violence of the Frank rulers and of the rapacious monks in the country, now appeared intolerable; most intolerable the levies, contrary to the treaty, for service in the far East. They now for the first time clung truly in their hearts to their old god "Allfather," under whom they had been free; this god with his attendant gods had been the god of freedom, and the new enforced God with his saints and priests, who exceeded all men in greed and rapacity, was in their eyes the God of slavery, the God of an insufferable tyranny of king, church, military noble and insolent official.

Christianity could present no other appearance to the Saxons, for it was now not the Christianity of Alcuin but of the Romanic clergy; the Saxons felt it to be such, and the missionaries who spread it proved themselves such. In the case of men who were baptized by compulsion, made water-Christians without previous instruction, the old faith which they had secretly cherished and practised could not but burst forth afresh. Other Saxon cantons between the Elbe and the Weser soon joined the men of Riustri; they chased away the Christian priests and the Frank tithe-collector. Charles had to give up his Hungarian campaign. For three years all Charles's powers were called into action by the Saxons and their secret allies, the disaffected Romanic nobles who were in league with the Saracens in Languedoc, Rousillon and Beziers.

The war with the Avars rested. For the example of the northern districts of Saxony aroused all the Saxon people wherever they had received priests and Franks. They swept away the Frank rule and the new faith, which in most cases was only skin deep, and those districts which hitherto had been clear of Frank priests and Frank counts, rushed to arms with renewed zeal when they saw the whole Saxon nation in movement against the Franks. The Westphalians and Angrians were the last to arm and enter the movement; Widukind and Alf dissuaded their countrymen, and for some time held them back from the enterprise.

But the spirit of race, of old religion, of old liberty, hurried away these too in the current. A great number of the Westphalians and Angrians had collected on the Sinotfeld (Sendfeld near Wunnenburg, south of Paderborn, north of the Eresburg), when Charles with the speed of lightning attacked them with two powerful armies. The king himself pressed on them from the East, his first-born son Charles from the West, before the South-Saxons were strong enough to make a resistance. They acknowledged, in presence of the superior force of the Franks, the impossibility of resisting in the open field. We must assume that Widukind was the mediator between them and Charles; and Charles was glad to separate these South-Saxons from the others without stroke of sword or loss of men by means of the terms he offered. They preferred a separate peace to annihilation, which was certain in their then position. Charles took a large number of hostages, placed stronger garrisons in all the Frank castles, and fortified them more strongly. Thus the Westphalians were held down.

Meanwhile, in the rest of Saxony, from the Weser to the Elbe, the war became again a national war, and lasted eleven years with great bitterness. Everything that skill in arms or policy could effect, even deceit and cruelty without a parallel since the days of old Rome, were employed to subjugate the country. All means were adopted to separate from the Saxon people the nobility who remained true to their old faith and freedom; the deserters were received with brilliant rewards; those who clung steadfastly to the old faith and old rights had their lands harried. Thus the list of noble leaders yearly diminished, especially as Charles began to transport into the country of the East Franks those nobles who obstinately opposed baptism and Frank rule, and to bestow their lands on Frank nobles. After the peace made with the Westphalians he attacked the other Saxons with both his armies, met a stout resistance, and in his rage dragged from the cantons he had overrun in his first onset every third family, and placed them in the distant Eastern frontier; he wished to terrify and break down. In the years 795 and 796, he laid waste in two expeditions the country of the yet unconquered Saxons. But appalling as was this destruction, the people of the Saxons remained undestroyed, because it was upheld in its resistance by religious strength.

Of whatever kind the religion of a nation may be, be it a pure faith or superstition, the tension of religious faith planted in the heart of the attacked people, more than anything else produces the spirit of sacrifice and persistence. Charles, however,

had now become inaccessible to the warnings of Alcuin and his friends, and in spite of his terrible losses in these campaigns, continued his system of terror with the pride and obstinacy which marks the advanced age of princes. Unfortunately, in this last quarter of his reign, Charles was in the hands of the clergy, who stimulated his fanaticism.

Again, in 797, he visited Saxony with fire and sword. He penetrated to the most northern districts between the sea, the Elbe and the Weser, but without being able to maintain himself there; he returned, however, in the same year, and placed his army in divisions throughout the country during the winter. He remained in person in Saxony, in the fortified place of Heristall on the Weser. This fort is now a mere village, named Herstelle, in the circle of Höxter in the Prussian district of Minden.

This Saxon Heristall must not be confounded with the Frank birthplace of the Carolingians on the Maas, three leagues from Liege. It was an important position even in the time of the Romans, and King Charles had so strengthened it that the Frank garrison was able to hold it during the war, and even the defeated Franks and fugitive clergy found protection behind its walls. This fortified camp, in Roman parlance, was now the base of operations against the Saxons who resisted. Here the king kept the Christmas of 797 and the Easter of 798. His unchristian actions now recoiled on him; the lands, so often laid waste, could not support his army; the want of provisions and the consequent dispersion of the troops in detachments, allowed the Saxons, who had been pushed to the northeast, to break out again, surprise the Frank detachments, and destroy them when the spring of 798 was approaching. The Franks did not leave their winter-quarters as they had entered them; they were driven out, and partly destroyed.

Charles himself left Saxony. His eyes were opened by bitter experience to the fact that a people cannot be destroyed like its crops. All his castles, all his devastation, had resulted in no success against the faith and courage of the free Saxons. He had roused up in their rear a powerful foe, the Slavonic Obodrites, the Wends of the Baltic; but the Saxons defeated their king Winuzin as he crossed the Elbe. The northern population beyond the Elbe were the kernel and heart of the Saxon resistance. They had suffered little in comparison of their more southern kinsmen, who had been so long exposed to the attacks of the Franks. When, before the approach of the spring of 798, they saw Charles's detachments compelled by famine to leave their winter camps in Saxony and retire to a distance, they occupied the districts left by the troops, attacked any Frank officials they could find, and slew the most of them, including an emissary of the king who was returning homeward from the court of Siegfried, king of Denmark.

As soon as Charles had collected his forces at Minden, he laid waste the whole country between the Weser and the Elbe, regardless of the fact that the Frank governors had driven the Saxons of this district to take part with their countrymen beyond the Elbe, and had exercised a tyranny beyond endurance. Charles relied on

the letter of the law, because, in a grand diet of the Franks and Saxons in 797, many heads of cantons between the Elbe and the Weser had approved his laws. For a second time he stirred up the Wends to attack the Nordalbingians in the rear. On the river Swentyn, in Holstein, the forces of these northern populations were beaten by the Slaves. Charles now adopted the cruel plan of transportation.

He had, as early as 794, transported from some of the conquered cantons into the most distant districts of his kingdom, refractory nobles, and even every third family of the freemen; but he now began to transplant whole tribes. For five consecutive summers he entered Northern Saxony with a great army, and from the year 799 onwards he transported in a body and transplanted beyond the Rhine any Saxon tribe he could defeat, thousands in each year. The Saxons were scattered among the Franks beyond the Rhine and Main, and their houses and lands given to his partisans—to bishops, abbots, and priests, to counts and liegemen of Frank and also of Saxon blood; for he gave royal rewards to Saxon nobles and Saxon freemen who remained



loyal, or who came over to his side. The more the number of nobles faithful to old faith and right melted away in the long war by desertion, by death on the field of battle, by transportation, the more did the power of resistance vanish year by year. The Saxon race had always been without a head, without unity in plan or in execution, and this want became more sensible the more exhausted were their means of resistance.

Charles now determined to negotiate with the separate cantons; for agreements with the whole race had never been possible. To weaken thoroughly the party of resistance, Charles commenced treating with the nobles who still held aloof. All the refractory nobles appeared at the castle of Selz on the Saale in 803, and took the oath of allegiance under the condition that they were to enjoy like rights and privileges with the Franks, to retain their old laws, to elect their sheriffs (*scabini*), to grant the nomination of the Graugrafen, counts or judges for life, to the royal government, that they were to be judged by their peers and by their own law, to pay no more tribute than tithes to the Church; and in return, to obey the royal summons to the field, the bishops and other temporal or clerical officers, and to receive baptism. Charles gave many of the nobles who were baptized the office of count, and held out the prospect of it to others. The nobles, therefore, the more earnestly labored for the acceptance of peace by the freeholders, to whom Charles offered the same terms as to the nobility.

But the caution of the freeholders overcame the seductions of the nobility; they saw the dangers threatened by the appointment of counts by the king, by the numerous distant campaigns, by the domination of the bishops and their tithes. The Saxons beyond the Elbe, the stubborn Nordalbingians, rejected what their kinsmen had accepted. It was not the old sectional spirit, selfish and unpatriotic, which moved them, but the lot of the freeholders in those districts which had succumbed seemed little worthy to compare with their old freedom. They put no trust in Charles, although he now offered more favorable terms than those made with the Saxons who had previously submitted.

The most daring and resolute of the Saxons were those of the Wihmuodigau, in the districts around the modern city of Bremen.

With a view to completely destroy this last stronghold of the religious and national opposition, Charles, in the year 804, invaded this Nordalbingian country with a force as great as his anger at their adherence to their old gods and old principles of freedom. Inflamed by his clergy and by personal appeals from the Pope himself, Charles overlooked the fact that he had no right to force his God and his government on these free Saxons beyond the Elbe, who had never made any treaty with him, and that they had every right to defend the faith of their fathers and their national liberties. All other Saxon tribes between the Nordalbingians and the Franks had been subdued by policy or arms during the thirty-three years' war, and the inhabitants who had succumbed were now compelled to follow the banner of Charles against their own independent kindred. Charles fought with Saxons the still unconverted Saxons. He could not

but be victorious. But after the victory he made no slaughter of the conquered. Did the last words of the friend who died in this year, the noble and faithful Saxon Alcuin, restrain him? Or was Charles great enough to appreciate the greatness displayed in this death-struggle for the old religion and liberty, which this handful of the old free Saxon race had maintained against his kingdom; and now, when all were subdued, did he no longer slaughter but transport?

This removal of the population was now carried out extensively; ten thousand Saxons from the Wihmuodigau were torn from their old homes, and removed with wife and child into remote parts of his kingdom, merely because they obstinately clung to their old gods. These 10,000 men with their wives and families were driven away, not in a body, but separate from each other, in small detachments and by different roads to various destinations; many to the Main and still further to the East frontier, the border districts of modern Würtemberg and Bavaria, especially to the country between Aalen and Augsburg, and to the Allgau of Würtemberg. In Frankfort-on-the-Main there still exist traces of this transplantation of population in the name Sachsenhausen, and in the character of the people. In the valleys and on the mountains of the Würtemberg river Brenz, many names still tell of the removal of the Saxons; Sachsenhausen near Hohememmingen, Heidenheim, Hermaringen, Herbrechtingen, and Irmansweiler on the Albuch, all three names containing the name of the old Saxon deity Ar, Eor, Ir, Her, Irmann. Near to Irmansweiler the vale of Win or Wiun, variously pronounced by the people, retains in its name a reminiscence of the Saxon god Wuotan or Woden. Popular superstition still speaks of supernatural beings which dwell in its narrow, deep-cut, inhospitable and rocky clefts, and tradition affirms that offerings to idols, devil-worship, were long secretly made in this Wiunthal. Even the name of the old castle on a rock above the city of Heidenheim, Hellenstein, in mediæval chronicles Helastein, comes from the old goddess Hela; and it is possible that Hertfeld, the name of the woody heights beyond the Brenz, the meaning of which has been the subject of such controversy, may be derived from the religious rites once paid to the goddess Hertha by the Saxons. It is possible, too, that Giengen, a favorite free city of the Hohenstaufen emperors, one league distant from Hermaringen and Herbrechtingen may have obtained its name from the old Saxon word Ginunga (a gap or cleft in the mountains), which occurs in the Edda. Charles seems to have settled Saxon families in this quarter quite early; Aribertinga (Herbrechtingen) is mentioned as early as 777. These districts in which the old Roman roads and fragments of the Roman wall still exist, had been depopulated after the revolts and defeats of the allied Bavarians and Alemanni; and as, after Thassilo's fall, the Bavarians remained true to Charles, thousands of Saxons could be settled here in the midst of a loyal people, and thus be made incapable of further resistance.

In the case of the Saxons carried away captive in his earlier campaigns, Charles had not bestowed the deserted houses and property on the Saxons remaining in the country and obedient to him, but had placed, in the room of the exiles, pure Franks between these submissive Saxons and their refractory countrymen. He now pushed

a new powerful wedge forward into the Nordalbingian territory; he placed Franks in the Wihmuodigau, and Slaves, some of the Obodrites who had submitted to him in the eastern tracts of Holstein.

With this the Saxon war ended in 804. The remains of the Saxon race which were still unsubdued renounced resistance, and Charles gave them the same favorable terms as the others. Their destruction would weaken his kingdom; if he could win to his side these stout warriors, he would gain in strength, his kingdom would be rounded off in the north, and a more valiant guard of the frontier he could not desire. He therefore desired peace.

Charles had his camp near Holdenstatt, not far from Harburg. His army was extended along the Elbe. Saxon freeholders from beyond the Elbe who accepted the terms of peace came in crowds, did homage and were baptized. Thousands were baptized together in the Elbe without the slightest previous instruction.

The result was what might have been expected. Many submitted to baptism for the sake of appearance, but held their old faith in secret, although death remained as the penalty for so doing, when Charles mitigated his sanguinary edicts for other crimes. Many mixed up heathen and Christian practices; whence so much heathen superstition, so many echoes of the fair and romantic Nature-worship of antiquity have passed into the Christianity of to-day.

The war between the Saxons and the Franks, a war of brothers, lasted thirty-three years. Charles boasted that after he had finally conquered the Saxons he had endowed them with their previous freedom, took nothing from them for himself, and only made them pay tribute to Him who had given him the victory.

Charles built forts and castles in the country to prevent any attempt at secession; he erected churches, convents, schools and bishoprics, by which the Christian education of the coming generation was ensured. Down to the year 804, only missionary stations and unimportant convents existed in Saxony, but at this date he founded the bishoprics of Bremen, Verden, Münster, Paderborn, Osnabrück and Minden. The German Nature-worship had not shown itself civilizing; but Christianity, after the fashion of the period, brought civilization to the Saxons as well as to other wild races. One great element of strength lay in the religious unity of all members of the kingdom; a still greater, in the political unity. The last German race had now entered the kingdom; all purely German races now formed a political confederation. Charles's old idea of a political and religious unity of all the German races had now been made victorious by seas of blood, but it must at any rate have conquered, because it contained a truth, the development of which was inevitable, either by Charles and in his time, or by another in some other period. It was for this that he was sent into the world—to effect this was his highest task. What evils he wrought in the completion of this work by passion and error must be charged against him, yet with due remembrance of the general weakness of human nature; they are but shadows contrasted with the light—spots on a sun.

By such a peace after such a long struggle the Saxons in truth lost little and gained

much. They lost what even otherwise they could not have retained, their old gods, their separate existence; but they gained Christianity with its new forces, and participation in the various advantages of the empire, which now embraced all the German races remaining on German soil. This was the first united empire of all the Germans, although it was not called German but Frank. If the Saxons had continued longer in their old faith, and outside of the union of the other Germans, in their isolation, or rather in their hostile relation to their brethren, they would have excluded themselves, from the course of German development, from any share in the actions to which the Germans have been called. They would have died like a branch lopped from some mighty tree. But grafted into the new, all-transforming religion, into the unified state, the Saxons became zealous Christians, and invigorated the German element by their eminent qualities in body and mind. They received much from their German brethren, they repaid them with what was precious and not to be found in a like degree among the other German races—with a soundness of mind and body which had escaped all Romanic corruption, with lofty ideas of liberty and right, of domestic life and honor, with a deep seriousness which had continued, in the thirty-three years struggle, inflexible for what constitutes the highest possession of a people, and which had drawn from its own interior sources new strength and new spirit to resist and endure. The entrance of the Saxons with such qualities into the German union, of necessity quickened, refreshed, strengthened. United with the Saxons, the pure German element in the Frank kingdom, composed as it was of pure German, Romanized German, and Romanic populations, could free itself from the foreign, non-German portions, and be free to form itself into a German empire, which drew to itself the predominance hitherto held by the Franks, and the imperial title of Rome.

Order was restored to the Saxon territories; one of the foundations thereof was the reduction to writing of the Saxon laws. These laws and customs had hitherto existed in tradition and use, not in documents. Charles had them collected; and although in the transcription of this domestic, Saxon private law, some changes may have been made to bring the old usages into harmony with the new relations, yet the Saxon received from him their own old laws in a code of law. To this we may attribute the fact that the Saxon race became so quickly thoroughly German, and the most powerful of the German races, so that soon after the time of Charles the crown of the empire came to Saxon princes.

## CHAPTER VI

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DEFEAT OF THE DANES—CHARLES THE ROMAN EMPEROR—RELATION OF THE  
NEW EMPIRE TO THE PAPACY—THE COURT, CHARACTER AND FAMILY LIFE  
OF CHARLES—HIS DEATH.

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THE Saxon people thus stood forth a living member, a free partner in the empire of Charles. Even in defeat, the Saxons had shown, by their heroic struggle for freedom, their nobility of character, how worthy they were to live free, and had won even from the victor such esteem that he offered them his hand, raised them up, placed them again in freedom, and reconciled them to their new position in the kingdom, where not only the ruler was a German prince, but where the German nationality bore rule.

The people of the Saxons completed its transition from isolation to national unity, from sectional loneliness to a thorough incorporation in a powerful state, at first indeed only superficially, but finally and speedily in heart as well.

But this was not the case with the numerous Saxon fugitives; in addition to the thousands torn from their homes, there were many voluntary exiles, a small army of fugitives who had taken refuge in the Danish borders. These irreconcilables did not accept the decision which had become a fact in their native land. They could not be convinced that the time for

resistance was gone when power to resist was gone. They excited the Danes to invade the Frank kingdom.

The Danes, a race of German blood like the Saxons, settled mostly as pirates in Jutland and Schleswig and in the islands, belonged to that branch of the German race which had been formed from Goths and Saxons, and constituted with the Norwegians the people of the Northmen, who, at this period, laid waste by their piratical inroads the coasts of the North and Baltic Seas, and after the defeat of the Saxons, the head of German heathenism, they appeared as the chief foe of German Christendom. They came with two hundred ships, and the Saxon exiles landed on the Frisian coast, and threatened Aix-la-Chapelle in the year 810.

As early as the year 808, Gottfried, the successor of Sigurd or Siegfried, Widukind's brother-in-law, had attacked the Obodrites, to whom Charles had assigned the lands of the Saxons whom he removed. Saxon fugitives in Sigurd's army occupied some fortresses, and drove from the lands which were their property the foreigners implanted by Charles. But on the approach of the united Frank and Saxon armies, the Danes and Saxon fugitives again retired to Schleswig, and protected their territory by a wall and rampart against the invasion of the Franks. This wall ran from the North Sea to the Baltic, and had only one gate to admit wagons and horsemen. On one side the wide and deep firth formed by the Schlei, and an impassable wood to the south of the Schlei along the Baltic furnished defence; beyond the Trave lay a marsh-land, impassable, and cut up by streams. The Franks, in 808, advanced no further in this direction. Charles had ordered this northern border of his kingdom to be secured by fortresses, which consequently were erected; but in 810, Götterik passed the line of fortresses by sea. The Danes rapidly plundered the islands, defeated in three engagements the Frisians on the continent who adhered to the Franks, and compelled them to pay a tribute of one hundred pounds of silver. Götterik himself was not in this expedition, the naval attack was only part of his plans; but the Danes had been heard saying that the king had promised them to meet Charles in battle.

Charles underrated no opponent, least of all the brave and experienced Götterik, the Danish form of the name Gottfried or Godfrey. Although his locks were now silvered, Charles places himself at the head of a hastily levied force of Franks, crosses the Rhine, calls up the Saxon levies, hastens to the Weser, and pitches his camp near Verden in Hanover, where he awaits the Danish monarch and the irreconcilable exiles. He determines here to make the last decisive struggle. But Götterik does not come; there comes the news that the Danish fleet had left Friesland in haste, because their king, Götterik, had been killed by one of his warriors. Envoys soon arrive from King Hemming, the nephew and successor of Götterik, and beg for an armistice. Charles grants it, and in the spring of 811 concludes peace with Denmark on condition that the Eider form the boundary between the Frank and Danish dominions.

With the death of Götterik, the dread of the Danes, the maritime power of the age, ceased, for they were engaged in civil war; princes of the royal house with their parties wasted the resources of the country in struggles for supremacy, and gave

Charles an opportunity of employing the confusion in Denmark for the extension of his power as far as the Baltic. But Charles, feeling that his days were numbered, renewed, in 812, the peace with Denmark. His statesmanlike eye saw more justly, and to a greater distance, than his courtiers in their lust of conquest. Charles looked with disquiet to the future, and is reported to have said, with "tears in his eyes," that these brave Northmen will work great sorrow to his successors and the realm.

Charles had been for some time not king of the Franks, but Roman emperor.

It is almost beyond a doubt, from an extant letter of Alcuin to Charles, that the former had made the first suggestion of a restoration of the Roman empire. The suggestion at once inflamed the soul of Charles; he began to long for the imperial crown. Pope Hadrian attacked the king on this weak side. He styled him a "new most Christian Constantine," and sought by the allusion to gain him for his own ends. But to make him actually emperor was not in Hadrian's mind; no Pope could entertain the thought of transferring without compulsion the Roman empire to the Germans, and of erecting with his own hand a throne for the most dangerous of all neighbors and rivals. Leo III. was elected Pope on the day after Hadrian's death in 795. The election had not been quite fair, and in the consciousness of his crime he hastily sought for the protection and favor of King Charles, sending him the key of the Apostle Peter's grave and the standard of the city of Rome; Charles must be the patron of the Eternal City and the Church of Rome. Expelled from Rome in 799, by the hatred of the people and the Roman nobles, and accused before Charles, the Pope appealed to Charles for aid, and the latter needed the Pope to obtain the imperial crown. He invited him to Paderborn, and the Pope, without delay, came to Charles's court. They came to a most friendly understanding; Leo engaged to crown Charles; Charles restored the Pope to Rome and his chair. Charles crossed the Alps in August of the year 800, and entered Rome on the 24th of November; he appeased the contest between the people and the Pope (who, among other things, was accused of perjury) by a simple oath of compurgation sworn by the Pope, and appeared in the dress of the patron of Rome at the high mass on Christmas day. At the conclusion, while Charles remained kneeling in prayer, at the high altar, the Pope stepped forward and placed on his head a golden crown. The bishops and clergy, who had been admitted to the secret, and a portion of the people who had received instructions, break out into the jubilant cry, "To Charles the Augustus, the God-crowned, pious, great, pacific emperor of the Romans, long life and victory!" Thrice was the cry repeated, and all voices joined in it.

The Pope pretended that his action arose from a sudden, immediate inspiration of God. Charles pretended to be taken by surprise. The people and the world believed it. But the account of a contemporary who had been let into the secret, dryly relates that it took place with the consent of all the bishops and clergy, of the senate of the Franks and Romans. Of the Franks, very few were in the secret.

The affair had been long discussed between the Frank court and the Roman chancery; the conclusion arrived at was represented by the Pope as a sudden inspiration

of the Holy Ghost, and the whole symbolism of the coronation, as if some magic power was conveyed by it, was calculated to suit the belief of the time. After the thrice repeated cry of the assembly, the Pope placed one hand on his mouth, the other on the hem of the princely robe, and thus anointed the still kneeling emperor. He then clad him with the imperial purple, did homage to him as the Roman bishops had used to do to the Western emperors, and "adored him"; that is, expressed by signs his respect, not by kneeling before him, but by bowing, taking his hand, and kissing him on the lips.

Three things show that the imperial crown was bargained for at Paderborn in return for the support and acquittal of the Pope, then a fugitive from Rome, accused before Charles and guilty of grievous crimes. Alcuin conducted the whole investigation concerning the charges against Leo; at his suggestion Charles, the patron of Rome and the Church, sent Alcuin's friend and pupil, Bishop Arno of Salzburg, as royal examiner to Rome. When Arno furnished the result of the private examination of witnesses, Alcuin put it into the fire "that it might not fall into any one's hands." Alcuin deemed it of importance that the authority of the Holy See should not suffer, because the faith would suffer thereby, both among the faithful and among the newly converted Saxons. It was of the highest importance to him and his king, that the head of the Church from whom Charles was to receive, according to agreement, his consecration as Roman emperor, should not be merely a pardoned criminal; he therefore put a stop to the investigation against Leo. The assembling a synod to sit in judgment which allowed the Pope to clear himself of the charge of perjury by a simple oath affirmative of his innocence, the condemnation of his accusers to death, their pardon by Charles on the Pope's entreaties, in order that the Pope might thus enter into the glory of a disciple of Christ—all this was a carefully prepared comedy. The maxim that the "end justifies the means" is an old one in church and state. Some weeks before the day of the coronation, Alcuin sent from Tours a precious copy of the Holy Scriptures and his "good wishes for the empire" to his friend in Rome, instructing him to give them both to the "emperor" on Christmas day. So well did Alcuin in his home among the Franks know what would take place on Christmas day in Rome.

About this time Charles's son, Pipin the king of Italy, was in the field against the duke of Benevento. Charles summoned him from Lower Italy to Rome to give the imperial coronation more splendor by his presence; and after the emperor had been anointed, to be himself anointed by the Pope's own hand.

The few Franks initiated into the secret kept a deep silence respecting the true story, the secret negotiations for a year and a half between the Pope and Charles. It was of importance to Charles, in the eyes of the world, particularly in the eyes of the Franks, to have the appearance that the imperial crown was tendered to him without any suggestion from himself, by a miracle of the moment, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Towards those who had not been initiated, Charles played the part of one surprised, nay, displeased by the occurrence. He assured them solemnly

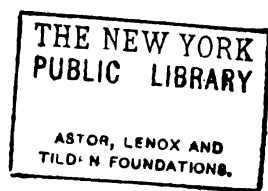


that he had had no suspicion of the Pope's intention, otherwise he would not have entered St. Peter's Church; and in a public document he styled himself as "crowned an emperor by the suggestion of God."

The truth of the story would have injured the empire and the papacy both in the eyes of the Franks and other Germans. To the German "barbarians" the name Roman emperor was a mysterious, awe-inspiring title, and the imperial crown on the head of the Frank king gained power by the mysterious circumstances which surrounded its imposition on the head of Charles.

King Charles had long had in his hands a kingdom more extended and composed of more different nations than there had been in Europe since the downfall of the Western Empire. The European continent in the southwest belonged to him almost entirely; all the German nations on the continent, the remains of the Westgoths in the hills of Asturia and Cantabria excepted, had been for the first time formed into a national whole under his sceptre. The northeast of Spain, France, and Italy obeyed him, as did modern Germany; he had added to his kingdom Denmark up to the Eider, Hungary to the Raab. Not merely Germans and Romanic nations, but Saracens in the Spanish March, and scattered in Southern France, as well as Slaves and Avars, were inhabitants of his kingdom. A long series of previous kingdoms had been absorbed into the power of the Franks under the sceptre of Charles. Charles had an empire and the position of an emperor long before the name of emperor was given him by his coronation.

To bring, however, his immense realm into the form of a state, he needed something to give him a higher consecration in the eyes of the people. This consecration his coronation gave. To place under equal laws, to teach equal rights and duties to all the nations subject to his sway, required the title of emperor, with which in the belief of the Christian nations there was united an idea of the highest earthly power. With the empire as it had existed in the West, and still existed in the East, there was a fullness of power which the kingdom of the Franks did not possess; it was part of the plan of Charles to lay not only on the Romanic, but on the German nations too, a power not unlimited like that of the Byzantine emperors, but more extensive than he hitherto had; and for this end he needed a belief among the Franks that he was emperor by divine inspiration; he needed a belief in the mysterious, God-ordained power of the imperial crown in order that they might acquiesce in the new oath of fealty and its consequences which in many points limited these ancient traditional rights, in part were foreign to them. To the Romanic nations Charles now appeared in the position of the old Cæsars, with divine sanction for universal domination over all that had belonged to the Western empire. Even in Germany the Emperor Charles made no secret that the imperial crown had increased his power—that the empire did not, like the kingdom, demand from nobles and freemen loyalty, but obedience. All, without distinction, throughout his realm, had to do fresh homage to him as emperor, and promise obedience. That the nobles, jealous for the maintenance of their old freedom, and the freemen of the Frank and the German nations, took the new oath of



*CHARLES THE GREAT CROWNED AS EMPEROR.*

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homage, was effected by the co-operation of the religious feeling of the Franks, the personal character of Charles, and his politic tact. He did not allow them to feel that they had become subjects; he avoided the term, and treated them exactly as before.

Charles himself did not believe in any magic power of the coronation by the Pope; he did not hold the view that the granting of the highest temporal dignity of Western Christendom was the exclusive possession of the Roman See, and was dependent on Papal consecration; for, thirteen years afterwards, he had his son Ludwig (Lewis) crowned emperor at Aix-la-Chapelle, ordering his son to take the crown from the altar and place it on his head with his own hands. Everything which Charles did, before, during, and after the coronation, points to the same conclusion. To avoid any such appearance, to prevent any Papal assumption that the imperial crown was an investment, a gift of the Papal See, Charles had expressly arranged that the imperial crown was to be conferred on the ground of a resolution of the Church and the Roman people in agreement with the Frank high dignitaries. For this reason he had also summoned the synod in Rome. By their consent, not from the Pope alone, must the empire of the West be restored.

Charles, as Patrician of Rome, already possessed the acknowledged right of confirmation at the election of a Pope, and he maintained it for himself and his successors, and used it just as the Eastern and Western emperors had done. The Pope confirmed by the emperor had to take the oath of homage to the ruler of the Franks in presence of the emperor himself or in that of the imperial commissioners and the Roman people. The Pope had to vow unconditional fidelity to the emperor, if he, the elect of the clergy, the nobility, and the people of Rome, wished to have the confirmation of the emperor. As soon as he had assumed the imperial crown, Charles in all respects was the successor of the Western emperor, and heir of all their rights, the lord of Rome and the Roman territory, the master of the Papal See. No other view was taken of the emperor by the people in Italy. The relation of the Pope to the emperor under Charles, his sons and grandchildren was no other than that of perfect subordination of the Pope to the Emperor. The secretly cherished desires, the long struggles of the Papal See to form out of a spiritual supremacy of Western Christendom a temporal sovereignty, to become an entirely independent temporal ruler in his states, had to retreat into the background before Charles. Charles, as emperor, did not resign what, as king, he had reserved in all his donations, as his father had done in his, all rights of dominion over the states of the Church; all citizens of these states had to do homage to him, and the Pope remained, as he had hitherto been, a vassal of the emperor, and as such had only the inferior civil and criminal jurisdiction; he nominated the officers of justice and administration in the states of the Church. But these still were subject to the supervision of Frank commissioners, who, as representatives, previously of the royal supremacy, now of the emperor, had their residence in Rome, and heard complaints and appeals of all kinds. In the city of Rome itself, every form of temporal power claimed by the Pope naturally was in abeyance when the emperor took up his residence in Rome.

The obedience which the Pope, when doing homage, vowed to the emperor, was not limited to temporal concerns; the king's rights of dominion had penetrated even into the Church, and the rights of the emperor did so no less. On this side of the Alps, the king of the Franks was recognized as the highest officer in ecclesiastical legislation and the government of the Church; he named the bishops, convoked the synods, gave to their resolutions the force of law. He, as king of the Franks, had this power in Italy by virtue of his eminent dominion, and, as emperor, Charles kept all his rights in the church and state of Rome and Italy undiminished, but he used them in all the extension which the imperial dignity involved. Fidelity and obedience were the duties of the Pope to the emperor, and remained so under all the emperors of Charles's race.

This relation of perfect subordination, in which the Bishop of Rome stood after he had crowned Charles as emperor, is the only historically true relation. No human being in the Christian world thought of an equality of the Pope and Emperor, or dreamt of a higher position of the Pope above the Emperor. All Christian people at this period knew nothing else but that there was only one supreme on earth in Christendom, and that this supreme one was the emperor.

Such claims, even such wishes and hopes, were far from the then Pope Leo III. This indiscreet Pope, whom the emperor by means of his envoy in Rome, the Abbot Angelbert, admonished "to bear in mind diligently that he must lead a honorable life, observe the laws of the Church, and, before all things, avoid taking bribes for the disposal of offices," thought only, during his negotiations with Charles respecting the coronation, how to leave open for his successors the possibility of the exercise of temporal power in Rome, and the possibility of working for and extorting an independent position of the Papal See in things temporal and spiritual. This was the very extreme of what the Pope thought; in all probability he thought only of not having the stern emperor always in Rome. It appears that Leo, in his negotiations, stipulated with Charles that the new Roman emperor should not take up his abode in Rome. Charles could easily promise this. For the condition of Germany demanded, according to the rules of political wisdom, his continual residence in the territory of his Frank kingdom, and, on the other side, the Frank people had never sanctioned the transfer of the government to Italy.

Thus arose the new Christian empire of the Germans, 324 years after the Western Roman empire had crumbled to pieces under the touch of the barbarian hands of the German migration. The foundation of the new imperial power was always Germany. It never occurred to any man of that time outside the Papal court to see in the Pope of Rome the man "who was enthroned in the holy city of Rome in the place of the Western emperors, and was the keeper of the Western imperial crown," as we often read, with the addition that "this Western empire had been regarded by the people as dormant." The people of that age had something else to do than to make reflections quite out of their circle of thought, quite outside of the ideas of the men of their day—reflections of a politico-diplomatic character involving a philosophy of history.

Men and people at that stage which the Frank kingdom had reached—German, Slave and Romanic—look only to facts.

The visible facts were, that the great statesman and general Charles, the champion of the faith, the deliverer of Christendom, the conqueror for the Cross and Christianity, the most powerful prince in Europe by extent of territory and union of nationalities, exhibited in his character and position what was expected of Christian emperors such as they were represented in the imagination of mankind. The Christian imperial system existed in greater purity and completeness in him, and was more attractive and successful in his actions hitherto than in any of his predecessors on the imperial throne since Constantine had established the Christian monarchy. It was the life-long thought of Charles to unite into one great Christian state all the German nations and all the nations which, as remnants of the Roman empire, had survived its downfall, to ennoble the Romanic population by the influences of the German element, to civilize the Germans by the influence of the Romanic element. It is his care for culture that makes the sanguinary conqueror worthy of honor. He acted always in the belief that his great end could be attained in no other way than by that which he trod; he conquered in order to give a barbaric world true religion, morality, unity and prosperity.

It is not to be expected that the masses of the people in Alemannia, Thuringia, Bavaria and Saxony, who had to make the sacrifices, saw the necessity for these sacrifices in the new constitution formed by Charles. But what they received was more precious than what they gave up. Much that had hitherto been wanting they received from unity of government, from national unity, from the new faith; they received infinitely more than their political isolation, in spite of its accompanying freedom, and their old gods gave or could give. At first they felt the pain of the loss, not the pleasure of the gain; but the second and third generation recognized that progress was impossible unless men gave up, or were compelled to give up, the past; and that the new circumstances in which they were, compensated for what had been sacrificed or lost.

The great and extraordinary work accomplished by Charles, in spite of his wars in his immense dominions, for the moral and spiritual culture of his people, for the reformation of the government and jurisprudence, for the promotion of agriculture, industry and commerce, as well by his connections with the distant East as by opening new roads for intercourse, for the awakening of learning, for the German language and German architecture, will be told in connection with the history of the development of culture in the German nations.

The promotion of civilization in Saxony was always in his mind, because he knew the great qualities of this race, whose powers he had experienced and valued, and what an element the Saxons would form in a collective German nation. He had been emperor during his negotiations with the Saxons after 800, he had been emperor when he offered and concluded a treaty so favorable to them; but in spite of his imperial coronation he exhibited himself towards his Germans as a "king of the people." He never demanded for himself anything repugnant to their ideas of freedom and of an

elected king—anything repugnant to their consciousness of the dignity of freemen. They thus the more easily accepted what he did for the promotion of moral and material progress, and for the union of all Germans into one grand whole.

For ten years after his peace with the Saxons, Charles devoted his great and beneficent exertions to Saxony, to the Alemanni, Bavarians and Thuringians on the frontier of his empire. From him they received all that made these Germans capable of becoming what they had become. His heart was thoroughly German; there was nothing Romanic in him or about him. The German nation, the German spirit—these were the things he wished to hand down, and has handed down to posterity.

Thus, at the commencement of the ninth century, the emperor ruled with an energy such as no Christian emperor, before or after him, displayed; and when death drew nigh, he could lay him down with the consciousness that no emperor before him had, by human power, done so much for his people, and for the “kingdom of God upon earth.”

Charles was not merely a great man—he was great as a man, as a human being. Two kinds of greatness, often separated, coincided in this model of an emperor, and both in an extraordinary degree—to such a degree as only one of the two has reached in other princes in history.

Great as was the force and versatility of his genius, great as his power had been made by the glory of his successful wars, and by his coronation as emperor, yet he never thought of being an unlimited monarch. He did not believe in Absolutism; he was too wise and too Christian for that. True Christianity and true statesmanship respect the dignity of man and the freedom of the people as something holy and unassailable; and only princes who either are weak-minded and consider themselves highly gifted, or who, in their selfishness, have forgotten God and his first command to love one's neighbor, libertine and licentious princes who drain the marrow of the people to satisfy their desire of enjoyment, and their licentious court—only such have loved Absolutism. For himself, Charles took nothing. The smallest princeling of our days in Europe, if we compare the different values of things now and in the Middle Age, requires for his household, for himself and his court more than the great Charles required. His table, his whole domestic economy was indescribably simple; and as he did not hold himself “especially illuminated by God,” as so many princes, great and small, have deemed themselves, he had no need of the principle of the “Absolutism of the throne.” He restored, under the name of Parliaments, the old, disused assemblies, the national representation; he divided the highest powers in the state with the nation. The national representatives appeared every spring in the parliaments or diets, and discussed the laws. German nature was not yet so degraded by a pseudo-Christianity as to endure the abrogation of popular liberty. For a time, indeed, Charles had inclined to strict monarchy, and had, in consequence, committed errors from which his successors and the German nation long suffered. But in the last quarter of his life, he acknowledged his mistake, and again imparted power to the

nation ; he turned again to the people and saw in it, in the free men of the people, the firm foundation of the royal power, not in a court or feudal nobility. The lights and shadows of his domestic rule will appear hereafter.

His natural love of the beautiful, his esthetic eye, his heroic vigor made him, in the highest degree, honor female beauty. His love of women was great, and some of his contemporaries took offence thereat ; it was, however, free from all vulgar alloy. Although the Church, which had allowed the Merovingians to have several wives at once, might have given a liberty in this respect to the great emperor, yet Charles never had more than one wife, and as long as Hildegard lived, she had no rival. But Charles could not exist without some one to love. He kept his sainted Hildegard, the mother of eight children, in the sanctuary of his heart, although he had married Fastrada within eight months of her death. In the six children which survived their mother, in her sons Charles, Pipin and Lewis, in her daughters Hrodtrud, Bertha, and Gisela, he continued to love Hildegard. He had two daughters also by Fastrada, named Theoderada and Hiltrud. Most likely the bad temper of Fastrada was the reason why he had, during her lifetime, a mistress, whose daughter Rothaid was as dear to him as the children of Hildegard.

Soon after Fastrada's death, Charles married for the fifth time. Himiltrud, Adalberga (Desirée), Hildegard, Fastrada, had been his wives ; his last wife was the Swabian Liutgard. She died childless in the year 800—the same year in which he became emperor. Charles, now nearly sixty years of age, raised no empress to the throne. He formed transient connections with noble Saxon, Frank and Swabian ladies. Eginhard has given us the names of four who, one after another, won the love of Charles ; Rathalgard, who bore him a daughter, Rothilde ; the Saxon Gerswinde, the mother of a daughter, Adaltrude ; Regine, who bore two sons, Drogo and Hugo ; and finally, Adalinde, the mother of his son Theodorich. To all his children he was a fond father, and found his highest pleasure in their society. His love made no distinction between his legitimate children and the offspring of his lighter loves ; all were carefully brought up together under Alcuin's teaching. The three last sons of Charles were made by their half-brother, the Emperor Lewis, ecclesiastical princes of Metz, St. Quentin and Cambray. Charles was so happy in the society of daughters who were talented and uncommonly beautiful, that he declared to royal suitors he could not part with them, and he declined all royal alliances, allowing them to give their hearts and love to men of distinction in the public service who possessed his confidence—to statesmen, scholars, artists. There is still current in Germany a tale of Eginhard and Emma ; but it is a mere poetic legend (no daughter of Charles was named Emma), yet gives under changed names the historical truth of an amour of Angilbert (Engelbert) and Bertha, the second of the daughters of Hildegard. Angilbert, of illustrious family and one of the emperor's privy councillors, possessed great personal beauty and knowledge of state affairs. He was favored by the muse of poesy, and like Eginhard, was a favorite pupil of Alcuin. One of the two sons of this intrigue of Angilbert and Bertha was the famous Nithart, who has made himself



immortal as historian, soldier and statesman. Alcuin had recommended Angilbert as a teacher for the daughters of Charles, and also the accomplished Eginhard. The latter had been appointed the emperor's private secretary; he was of humble parents in the Odenwald, but had been brought up by Alcuin in company with the three sons of Hildegard, and became an especial favorite of Charles, because he was a clear-headed man with varied abilities, a student of classical Roman antiquity, a statesman, an architect and an historian—an historian full of truth and spirit.

Charles's three sons by Hildegard, Charles, Pipin and Lewis (Ludwig), had grown up to be fine men; the two eldest resembled their father, who had given them all a careful education in the arts of war and policy; the third, Lewis, was more of a priest than a soldier. Charles and Pipin distinguished themselves by their exploits in arms, but cannot have shown themselves to be statesmen in the opinion of their great father. When Charles was sixty-four years of age, he looked on his immense empire and his sons, and reflected what would become of this empire when he was no more—with this empire which he had founded and built up. His grand idea of a Christian Romanic-German Empire, for which he had done so much good and allowed himself to perpetrate so much evil, which had become actual by his personal efforts and rule, seemed to him incapable of being perpetuated, when he looked at the capacity for governing displayed by his sons. His experience of the last years had taught him that none of his sons had the power and personal force to keep together as a whole the empire built up from so many different elements; that it was too great, too complicated for the power of any single person, unless he were of extraordinary abilities. In the year 806, therefore, he projected, with the consent of the estates temporal and spiritual, a plan of division, by which the empire after his death was to be divided among his three sons. But Charles, who had been generally fortunate in life, met with three blows in his last years: death took away his second son Pipin, king of Italy, on the 8th July, 810; his daughter Hrotrud in the same year, and his first-born son Charles, on the 4th December, 811. Although his house and his heart were stricken by the death of his two noble sons, although he seldom was cheerful afterwards, Charles, hardened by years, labor and fate, did not break down. But his repressed grief undermined his powers, and at times he suffered from attacks of fever.

In 813, an attack of gout stretched him on his bed. Hunting, riding, swimming had, throughout his life, been an invigoration and a pleasure. Old age made no change, and gout seized him during a great hunting in the forest of Ardennes. After his recovery, the feeling remained that his health was broken; and in the September of the same year, soon after his return to his beloved (Aachen) Aix-la-Chapelle, he convoked a great diet, all the clerical and lay dignitaries of all the countries, counts and marquises, nobles and freemen, bishops and abbots, priests and deacons. He laid before them his last projects of law "regarding the necessary affairs of the church of God, and the Christian people." They were discussed and accepted, and proclaimed laws of the empire. They established the relations of the estates and of the law, increased the sanctity of oaths by penalties laid on perjury, and defined more closely

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the royal power in its two chief functions, of jurisdiction and military command. The emperor next proceeded to what lay close to his heart—he announced his wish that his son Lewis be made a partner in his power, and become emperor after his death. At the previous division of his dominions, the three youths had been elected as kings by the estates of the countries granted to them; for even so great a man as Charles, in such a long and glorious reign, did not venture to introduce the principle of inheritance of the royal dignity, or to impose any king but one elected by the people. The diet of the empire elected Lewis as king and emperor.

The following Sunday, September the 11th, Charles in imperial robes, the imperial crown on his head, proceeded to the church of St. Mary, which he had built; he knelt with his son before the high altar; there father and son prayed; on the altar lay a crown like that on the head of Charles. Then the gray-haired emperor arose, and in the presence of the assembly of the estates of the realm, he admonished the elected king of the Franks, in solemn words, to be true to the duties which lay on him as future king and emperor towards God and the Church, towards his brethren and kindred, and before all things, towards the people, for the weal of which he must appoint none but faithful, just, God-fearing officials, be a father to the poor, and strive to walk blamelessly before God and men. Charles closed with the solemn question, "Wilt thou discharge all these duties?" and Lewis gave his promise in the sight of the assembled estates of the realm. Then Charles took the imperial crown from the altar, and placed it with his own hands on the head of Lewis, as the executor of the decree of the diet. Charles wished to show by this, that the emperor was independent of Rome, that the transfer of the Christian empire to the Germans, the highest power on earth in church and state, was an accomplished fact; that henceforth the creation of an emperor was quite independent of any co-operation by the Pope—above all, was not connected with any coronation by a priest.

When Lewis had the imperial crown on his head, all the people, by order of Charles, saluted him as king and emperor.

There is no trace to be found that the Pope had been previously consulted, or his consent asked. The court of Rome was silent, for Charles was alive. The Pope stepped back; but only in the sure hope that as soon as a weaker monarch succeeds Charles, it will not be difficult for the Church to make the world believe that it was the Pope who had made, and who alone can make, the emperor an emperor.

The coronation of his son was the last public act of Charles. He continued his usual mode of life and attention to affairs. On the 21st of January, 814, after taking a bath, an attack of fever again seized him. According to his usual custom, he sought to cure himself by refraining from food and drink; but on the seventh day, on the 28th of January, 814, feeling the term of his existence approaching, he received the Holy Eucharist, and repeating in a low tone and with folded hands the words, "Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit," gave up the ghost.

He had lived seventy-two years, and reigned forty-seven. The people of Aix-la-Chapelle loudly lamented his death, and conveyed the corpse, embalmed, to Our

Lady's Church, where the office for the dead was performed, and where he had, long previously, prepared the last resting-place for his body, and placed the throne. For his corpse was to rest in death, not enclosed in a coffin, but sitting upright as in life—such was his will. On the same day, when the burial-service took place, they placed him in the tomb, which he had had built in the form of a chapel. They clothed him with the imperial mantle and other insignia of imperial power, and placed him on the gilt throne of marble, in an upright posture; they laid on his knee a golden book of the Gospels, his favorite book, placed on his head, which still bore in death the golden imperial crown, a fragment of the Holy Cross, girded him with his golden sword, and hung by his side the pilgrim's scrip, which he used to wear on his pilgrimages to Rome; at his feet they placed the golden sceptre and the golden shield blessed by Pope Leo III. They next filled the vault with costly spices and rich jewels, and then the entrance was built up and sealed. On the arch over the entrance was placed his figure, with the inscription, "Here lies the body of Charles, the great and orthodox emperor, who, by noble deeds, enlarged the kingdom of the Franks, and reigned prosperously seven-and-forty years."

The Church did not forget how much the great dead had done for her; and just as heathen Rome raised her emperors to the gods, so the new Christian Rome inscribed the first bearer of the Roman empire of German nationality among the number of the saints, about three centuries and a half after his decease.

The German people placed and kept him in their hearts. God had granted to him, by means of his lengthened life and reign, to reconcile even the conquered to the course of events, and to win their love and honor. The sorrow for him—a sorrow pervading all the German races, and even the Saxons—was more sincere than usually attends the death of princes. It grew into a longing, a home-sickness for him, as soon as all the German peoples found to their grief that Charles the Great no longer lived and ruled. His memory lived on in loving recollection in the sagas and lays of the German and Romanic nations, who propagated from mouth to mouth, with ever new additions, the deeds and adventures of Charles and his Paladins.

His whole life till the last gasp had been employed in awakening the Germans from mere activity of the senses to activity of the spirit, to ennoble them by Christianity and Law, to unite them into a nation.

## CHAPTER VII.

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**DECLINE OF THE CARLOVINGIAN HOUSE—LEWIS (LUDWIG) THE PIOUS—PARTITION OF THE KINGDOM IN 817—INTRIGUES OF THE PAPACY—REVOLT OF THE SONS OF LEWIS—THE "FIELD OF LIES" AND THE EMPEROR'S PENANCE AT SOISSONS—LOTHAIR I.—THE FRATERNAL WAR—DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE BY THE CONVENTION OF VERDUN.**

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WITH Charles, who, more justly than any other, is honored by history with the name of Great, the conquering spirit of the old Franks was laid in the grave, and long years of ingloriousness followed a period most rich in exploits. Even what had been won and what had been founded was not kept together; the empire soon dissolved, according to nationalities, into the pure German country, the Gallo-Romanic Frank kingdom, and the partly Germanized Italy.

Charles saw too late the cardinal error of his life—his favoring, first, the privileges of the nobility; secondly, of the clergy, at the cost of the commons and popular liberty. He had judged this course necessary to carry out the conversion of the German barbarians—the Alemanni, the Bavarians, the Thuringians, and the Saxons. For this end the plan was good enough. But the perpetuation of such arrangements, his seeing in them the cement to hold together the new Romanic, German Christian empire, his going too far with his political and ecclesiastical ordinances at the cost of popular freedom—this, as well as the load of guilt his descendants themselves incurred, brought God's judgment on the family of Charles.

In the last years of his life, especially after the death of his sons, the thought gnawed at Charles's heart that the empire, this giant edifice of his life-long work, must all go to one who, he knew by experience, was utterly incapable of supporting it. With this opinion secretly entertained, he long determined to divide the empire between Bernhard, the son of his second son Pipin, although Bernhard was born out of wedlock, and his own third son Ludwig or Lewis. The bastard Bernhard, carefully educated, was a man gifted with great talents; Lewis was a "noble soul," but without



intelligence, without statesmanlike understanding; he had not even personal courage, let alone the talent of a general. But the fear lest this partition between Bernhard and Lewis might lead after his death to civil war, deterred Charles from his plan, and he therefore only nominated Bernhard as king of Italy, as under-king, vassal to his uncle the emperor, to whom he owed feudal allegiance and obedience.

If the Emperor Lewis had had all the people on his side, the fabric of the state, even after the mighty spirit of Charles had fled, would, even in his weak hands, have been permanent. For what is built on the foundation of the people's love stands on sure ground. The people's love holds firmly whatever is in harmony with the people's needs, with their views, with their heart's longings. The last years of Charles had not quite compensated for the injuries he had done to the interests and sympathies of the people in all the three nationalities, especially in the German nationality. The people in Germany, France, and Italy, as the dissolving parts of the empire soon named themselves, were indifferent to the work and family of Charles, because it had suffered so long from the privileges of the nobility and clergy; and when his successor, Lewis, wished to remedy the evil, the nobility and clergy were too firmly settled in their privileges and power, and the strength of Lewis too weak to carry out his schemes for the people.

When Lewis, at the age of thirty-seven, came to the throne of his father, his first action, in his first diet of the empire, was to discuss and resolve how to remedy all injustice and oppression which existed. But it ended with the resolution. The temporal and clerical grandees carried out his order to what extent and in what fashion they pleased. His father Charles had given him Aquitaine, in the southwest, as soon as he had come to man's estate, in order that he might learn to reign unvexed by the neighborhood and dominant power of his great father. He learned only too soon to let himself be ruled instead of how to rule; and that not by the men who were loyal to his father, and given to him for his assistance, men tried in the field and in the cabinet, but by the clergy and their female dependants. He fell entirely under the influence of his court-clergy, his wife Irmengard and his children, her three sons. He was pure goodness and gentleness, without strength of will or perseverance; he was unfeignedly pious—not like so many bad princes in history, a mere bigot to the Church; his spirit, however, was not enlightened and made free by religion, but crushed and darkened. He had every quality to make an amiable father of a family, and private gentleman, or even a pious clergyman; he had only one quality befitting an emperor, a genuine affection for the people. This one quality would have been sufficient to keep him on the throne, if his father Charles had made the freedom of the people, and the love of all the peoples of the realm, the props of his imperial throne. The maxim is true: Great empires can be founded by heroes, by extraordinary personages; but the life of the greatest prince is short—only the people live long; an empire only then is permanent when it is built, not on the two eyes of its founder, but on the love and loyalty of a people contented in its wants and wishes, a people free and grateful.

Pope Leo III. acted as if there was no Emperor Lewis; he did not order the Romans to do homage to the new emperor, and Lewis delayed to demand the homage. Accused by the Romans of overstepping his powers in Rome, and summoned by the

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emperor to an investigation, the guilty Pope saw nothing else feasible but to justify himself by an embassy dispatched to the emperor. Thereby he actually acknowledged the full validity of the coronation which Charles had performed with his own hands in Aix-la-Chapelle. Stephen V., the successor of Leo, elected Pope in June,

816, hastened to obtain confirmation from the emperor; to promise unlimited fidelity to Lewis in the hands of the imperial officers present in Rome; he even hastened to do what his predecessor had omitted, and, on the same evening, compelled the Romans to take the oath of allegiance to the emperor. Thus Pope Stephen too and the Romans publicly acknowledged that Lewis was emperor, although no Pope or priest had crowned him. But Stephen knew how to induce Lewis to take a step which the Church could represent to the world as justifying the assumption that the dignity of emperor was involved with coronation by the Pope. His court-clergy, at the suggestion of the Pope, persuaded the pious Lewis to be crowned again, and this time by the Pope himself at Rheims, where Lewis held his court. The Pope came in October to Rheims. Lewis hastened to meet the Holy Father, thrice prostrated himself at his feet, and saluted him with the words, "Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord!" The Pope replied, "Blessed be God, who has given mine eyes to behold a second King David!" The Emperor and Pope then embraced and kissed each other. On the next Sunday the second coronation took place. The Pope had brought for the purpose a costly gold crown adorned with precious stones. In the church he consecrated, that is, anointed, Lewis as emperor, and placed on his head the crown brought from Rome. He then solemnly saluted Irmengard, the wife of Lewis, as Empress, anointed and crowned her. By this means the Papacy attained what it desired; it could maintain henceforth that the Pope made the emperor, and, after this solemn jugglery, even then almost all the people in France believed that this Papal claim was a Christian verity, and that he only was emperor in the full sense of the title, who had been consecrated and crowned by the Pope.

Lewis himself did not think so, for he reckoned the years of his reign in his public documents and decrees, not from the coronation by the Pope at Rheims, but from his coronation as co-regent with his father, or from the death of Charles. He had permitted the second coronation from a weak compliance to the wishes of his wife Irmengard, who persuaded him to it, and who desired to see the spectacle of a coronation, and be crowned and anointed by the Pope, and who perhaps really believed in a supernatural influence of coronation by the Pope. She was the centre around which the clergy revolved; without solid education, she was a thorough bigot, and devoted to the Church. Through her influence the clergy obtained the mastery over the emperor Lewis. She improved everything favorable to their aims and wishes. On the 9th of April, 817, six months after the coronation at Rheims, the wooden gallery connecting the palace and St. Mary's at Aix-la-Chapelle broke down as the emperor was returning from mass. The accident made a deep impression on him, although his injuries were slight. It was "a warning from heaven," said Irmengard and his court-clergy, the court and military aristocracy, a warning to set his house in order.

Irmengard feared the ambition of Bernhard, the king of Italy, in case of an early or sudden death of the emperor. As Bernhard was deemed by the Germans a man accomplished in all affairs of war or peace, as he was popular among the Italians and could reckon on their co-operation, he was a person to be dreaded by Irmengard's

sons; for, beyond question, Bernhard would, in the case supposed, seize the imperial crown, and rend away Italy from the empire, even if he did not draw over all the Romanic provinces, and a portion of the German districts. The separation of the Romanic provinces would have been very distasteful to the Frank clerical dignitaries, and the Frank officials of the court and army; they maintained the unity of the empire from selfish views. For high spiritual dignities and benefices, high temporal positions with rich incomes, had been hitherto given only to Franks. Episcopal sees, governorships, military commands, the long list of lucrative offices, had become almost hereditary in the noble Frank families. They looked on the possession of such places as their right. There was no decree of the empire granting such a right, but they were in actual possession of it. The separation of Italy and other countries on which an independent Italy could exercise an irresistible attraction, would have caused to these Frank noble families the loss of all their places in the seceding districts. They were therefore unanimous in maintaining the unity of the empire, and labored to oppose the plans of Bernhard.

In consequence, they and the empress moved the emperor, who was now forty years old, to have his son Lothaire (Lothar) elected by the estates of the empire as co-regent, and as successor to the imperial throne. Lothaire himself had an understanding with the nobles; they promised to the ambitious youth, whom they had corrupted, their assistance in raising him to be co-regent, with a prospect of soon being sole regent, and he made to the grandees many concessions which rendered these crown-vassals less dependent on the crown. Lewis had been systematically depressed by the clerical grandees by means of religious observances, prayers, penances, and the perusal of edifying books; at the diet at Aix, in July 817, the imposition of three days' fasting and prayer reduced him to an incapacity of resistance, and, as he stated in his proclamation, he made, at "the urgent request of the estates," an unjust division of the large possessions and treasures of the Carolingian house in case of his death.

This division alone, not the division of the empire, was in question. Although no ordinance of Frank law, or of the Carolingian house, had established the equal rights of all brothers to the possessions and treasures of the house, yet such rights had been long in use. With the inherited lands were included the governments of those provinces in which the enormous royal property lay; the heir was the governor, sub-regent or co-regent, or, as in the Merovingian days, an independent prince, duke, or king, by the consent of the estates.

Lothaire was twenty-one years of age, his brothers, Pipin and Lewis, were twelve and ten years old respectively. By the partition made at the diet, Lothaire had the far greatest share of the royal property in the empire, the younger brothers only moderate portions; to Pipin was assigned the estates of the house in Aquitaine, in the March of Toulouse, in the county of Carcassonne, with Autun and Nevers in Burgundy; to Lewis, the youngest son, the royal possessions in Bavaria, Carinthia, Bohemia, the Avarian March, and the Slavonic conquests. All the property of the house in the

chief districts of the empire, in North and East Franconia, from the Loire to the Elbe, in the Rhineland, and in old Burgundy as far as the vale of Aosta, were the inheritance of Lothaire. The states of the empire which urged this arrangement, elected to the government of the countries connected with their royal private property, the two brothers Pipin and Lewis, with the title of king; they were to be under-kings—that is, not independent, but under the sovereignty of Lothaire. As a token of their dependence on Lothaire as emperor and feudal lord, as well as head of the family, the younger brothers had, like other crown-vassals, to bring yearly dues, to conclude no marriage without his consent, to engage in no feud, no warlike expedition, without the consent of the emperor, their feudal lord. The decision of peace or war, the answers to foreign ambassadors, were reserved for Lothaire alone.

All this, so far as it concerned the supremacy and power of the emperor, was calculated to support the unity of the empire and its dependencies. The only objection was that such a division of the hereditary private property was new and contrary to custom; it was especially contrary to custom in so far as it concerned the grandson of Charles the Great, King Bernhard of Italy, and the express will and orders of his grandfather.

By these orders Bernhard was in hereditary possession of all the immense private possessions of the house in Italy and was governor of Italy with the title of king. By the sentence of the diet at Aix-la-Chapelle, Lothaire was to be in possession of Italy as fully as the Emperor Charles had been. This was an open robbery committed by Lewis on his nephew, a contempt of his father's orders which ought to have been sacred; and the decision of the diet in favor of Lothaire, and the weakness of his uncle Lewis, forcibly and contrary to all law deprived Bernhard of his rights to the government of Italy as granted by his grandfather, the Emperor Charles, and from the inheritance of his own father, in which he had been solemnly invested by Charles the Great.

When the ratification of the partition was known in Italy, great emotion was displayed throughout the country.

The decision of the diet at Aix-la-Chapelle, was not a decree regulating the succession to the throne, but a violation of German and Italian law, custom and feeling. It was the source of a series of evil deeds, of wars between father and son, and between brother and brother; the Furies were in the house of Charles the Great, as of old in the house of the Merovingians.

The first fraternal strife was with Bernhard, whose rights were violated by the decision of Aix. He took up arms to defend them, and occupied the passes of the Alps. The military levies of the Frank dominions marched against him with such rapidity, that they were approaching Italy before Bernhard had collected his forces. In view of their superior power which could not but crush him, he was induced by the Empress Irmengard to pacify his uncle by submission. By means of confidential agents whom she sent to Bernhard, she undertook to form a reconciliation between him and the emperor if he would personally sue for forgiveness. Her envoys gave

solemn oaths for his safety. In December, 817, he presented himself with a train of Italian nobles before his uncle at Chalons, and threw himself at his feet. The empress and her party had craftily enticed him into the net; at her suggestion, Lewis threw into prison his nephew and all his train. They were carried to Aix-la-Chapelle, and there arraigned before a feudal tribunal composed of Irmengard's party. This court sentenced King Bernhard and his friends to death "for breach of feudal allegiance."

A portion of his followers, particularly the most illustrious of those who had sided with Bernhard, died on the scaffold; another portion were confined for life. Lewis did not endure to see the grandson and favorite of the great Charles, the son of his brother, the king of Italy, on the scaffold, but he was too weak to venture on a full pardon in opposition to the empress and her party. He commuted the sentence of death to blinding and imprisonment. But Irmengard did not rest till she saw Bernhard a

corpse. By her suggestions the blinding was effected in so cruel a manner, on the 15th April, 818, that he died two days afterwards.

Lothaire received Italy, but his father pined in sorrow and repentance. Oppressed by the feeling of bloodguiltiness, he sought by penance, confession, fasts and almsgiving to avert the vengeance from his house; but their spectres haunted him. In the north and south of his empire, the Northmen were plundering; in the west, the Saracens; in the northeast and southeast, the revolted Slaves and Avars filled the weak emperor with care and alarm. The murderess Irmengard was on a sick-bed, and died on the 5th October, 818, in the sixth month after her crime perpetrated on Bernhard. Lewis saw in her sudden decease the judgment of God. He became more low-spirited, and the pangs of his conscience keener. He bowed still more humbly to the clergy, many of whom were also his ministers, to all their injunctions he submitted, to degrading penances, to public confessions "of his sinfulness and neglect of his duties as ruler." These things did him immense damage with the people of his empire. They had with justice been complaining that, instead of defending the frontiers of the empire sword in hand, he was kneeling in the confessional a mere devotee; they were now enraged that their king and emperor lowered himself so before the clergy; the very clergy who were the accomplices of Irmengard and her crimes.

Lothaire had already formed a party among the temporal and spiritual *grandeas*. The increasing depression of the emperor led his councillors and favorites to fear that he might be induced by the clerical followers of Lothaire to resign the imperial power, and retire into a convent. They attacked him on his weak side, his heart and senses, and after a few weeks of widowhood urged him, to whom a female confidant was indispensable, to marry again. They collected at the court the fairest daughters of the German noble families. Among them was Judith (Jutta), the daughter of Welf, count of Altdorf, in Upper Swabia. She was bewitchingly beautiful; Lewis was smitten with her charms, and married her in February, 819. She was as accomplished as beautiful, as brave as prudent, as ambitious as firm, as intriguing as power-loving. Soon her will, supported by some favored courtiers, ruled the emperor, and through him the realm. After four years and a half she bore a son and called him Charles, after his celebrated grandfather. Her desire to secure an appanage for him was opposed by many lay and clerical nobles. But she formed by corrupt means a party for her son; and the means which she used for corruption were the crown properties, which she squandered among her partisans.

The weak emperor, who had surrendered to his young wife the last remnants of his own will, signed these grants; he soon after subscribed the dismissal of his ministers, who had all been taken from the clergy, and the nomination of Count Bernhard of Barcelona as his first minister, who proceeded, by the aid of the empress, to surround Lewis with ministers of his choice and party. This Bernhard was marquis of the Spanish March, and duke of the fair lands forming Languedoc and Roussillon—a brave, experienced warrior, full of daring and energy, and devoted to the empress.

He took upon himself to execute a new partition among the sons of the emperor, in favor of the child of Judith—a partition to which she had persuaded her husband. By a mere imperial rescript, without any consultation of the diet, the consent of which was necessary, Lewis altered the partition made twelve years before, and gave to his youngest son Charles the great properties of the house in the Swabian and Alemannic countries, including Alsace, in Rhaetia and Romanic Switzerland; and without asking the Germans, who had the right of election, without even any form of election, he nominated him duke of these important and extensive countries.

What was granted to the child Charles was taken from the share granted at the first partition to the oldest son Lothaire. By the desire of the empress, Bernhard gave away the revenues of bishoprics and abbeys, nay, even the bishoprics and abbeys themselves, to strengthen the party of her and her son. From all these measures it resulted that Judith's stepsons, the clergy thrust from their positions as ministers and at the court, the bishops and abbots whose revenues were impaired, united together to overthrow Bernhard and the empress; the clergy in a body went over to the side of the conspirators, and, ungrateful for the emperor's lavish donations to the Church, moved heaven and earth against him, under the pretext of rescuing the emperor from the hands of Bernhard and the empress.

Lies and slanders of a poisonous nature were diffused by the clergy, high and low: the empress was devoted to magic, had exercised it on the emperor; the Marquis Bernhard was her lover; the pair intended to put out of the world the emperor and the sons of his first marriage; the end of their desires was, in the case of Bernhard, the throne—in the case of Judith, marriage with Bernhard. They had surrounded the emperor with traitors, separated from his friends. Judith's son Charles was the offspring of the marquis, not of the emperor. Particularly Archbishop Agobard of Lyons, one of the fallen ministers, declared it to be the duty of sons to "cleanse their father's dishonored bed."

When the fallen party had thus intrigued and planned, when the sons were worked up to revolt against their father and emperor, a protest was made, in conjunction with the temporal estates of the empire, against the new unconstitutional partition made by Lewis—against his deviation from the arrangement which he had sworn to, and which the Church had solemnly confirmed. Bernhard and the empress had not merely been intriguing, but had led on the emperor to a display of Absolutism, to violent and arbitrary deeds, to squandering the crown-property. He had, indeed, from the very beginning of his reign, squandered crown-property most lavishly on the higher clergy; the clergy had then made no objections to his immoderate donations, however much it had been the duty of his clerical ministers so to do, for the temporal nobles who came away empty were alienated by this preference of the clergy, this enrichment of the Church by the "pious Lewis." For the people, for whose prosperity, for whose improvement, for whose protection against oppression of lay or clerical officials his great father had done so much, Lewis, however much in heart he was kindly disposed to all men, had not only done nothing, but almost given it up as



a prey to be devoured. It was thus easy for the clergy, by lies and truth, to rouse up against the emperor the freemen, as well as the nobles and the Romanic population.

Lewis's eldest son Lothaire, with a soul from which his spiritual teachers had taken heart, and fidelity, and conscience, pretended as co-regent not to know of any movement in progress against the emperor and the court. Lothaire allowed his brother Pipin to begin the revolt against their father. The co-regent could thus play into the hands of his revolted brothers. Pipin and his army hastened from Toulouse to Paris in April, 830. In Paris the emperor had an army collected for an expedition to the sea-coast against the Northmen; this army was induced to desert, partly by nobles who were in the conspiracy, partly by bribes administered by Pipin. Even Lewis, the emperor's youngest son by his first marriage, joined the revolters. Induced by the priests, he shamefully supported by his testimony the accusations against his stepmother and Bernhard. Surprised by his sons, and betrayed by his army, the emperor and empress fell into the hands of the conspirators; the Marquis Bernhard escaped to his duchy. The conspirators compelled the emperor to dismiss his ministers, and recall the old clerical ministers whom Bernhard had degraded. They kept the empress in Compeigne, forcing her not to take refuge in a convent, but to become a nun, and formally take the veil. They had already torn from her side her brothers Conrad and Rudolf, given them the tonsure, and placed them in convents in the southwest of France. By threats and violence they compelled the empress to write to her husband exhorting him to exchange, as she had done, the world for life in the cloister, and to lay down an earthly crown and to seek an eternal one. At the same time Lothaire summoned a general diet of the empire to meet in October, 830, in Nimeguen (Nimwegen); there the abdication of the emperor was to be solemnly sealed and signed.

Meanwhile Lothaire had kept his father, with his favorite son Charles, confined in the Abbey of St. Medard, in Soissons. The monks of the convent were ordered to labor night and day with the emperor to induce him to become a monk for the salvation of his soul and the good of the empire. The conspirators did not venture to shave his head by force, as they had done to the brothers of the empress. But the otherwise weak emperor opposed an inflexible resistance to their exertions, and preferred to endure for many months the most unworthy treatment from his son Lothaire, rather than assent to what they demanded. He gained over to his aid, while confined in St. Medard, the sagacious and eloquent monk Guntbald. This monk secretly negotiated with Lothaire's brothers Pipin and Lewis, and on a promise by Lewis the emperor to make a division in their favor at the cost of Lothaire, they were brought to promise their assistance in his restoration to the government.

The Saxons and Frisians had long been in shame and anger at the ill-treatment of emperor and father by which Lothaire disgraced himself. They had not forgotten to be grateful to Lewis for the kindness and justice he had shown them. Immediately after his accession, Lewis had restored to the Saxons and Frisians, as free heredita-

ments, the property which had been confiscated as a punishment during the long wars of Charles the Great; and where Charles had changed properties into fiefs, he had again made these fiefs into freeholds. The benefit of these acts the emperor now felt. The Saxons and Frisians appeared with their military array at the prescribed diet at Nimeguen, as did the East Franks and Bavarians, under the command of his son Lewis; and this force of Germans coming forward in behalf of the emperor and father, terrified the faithless Lothaire so that he gave way. He begged for and obtained his father's forgiveness; he sacrificed his temporal and clerical followers—"he had been led astray by them," he told his father—and took an oath never to be guilty of disobedience again. Thus the day at Nimeguen, where Lothaire had expected the official ratification of the actually complete abdication of his father, became, by means of the grateful loyalty of the Germans of Saxony, a day of triumph for the Emperor Lewis, the day of his restoration to the throne.

They who had delivered him remained loyally by his side; all the conspirators were seized, and an assembly of the empire to sit in judgment on them was summoned to the capital of the empire at Aix-la-Chapelle. At this diet the Empress Judith, according to Frank law, proved her innocence by an oath, and was, with her priests, released from the cloister and restored to all her previous rights. The Pope had hastened, seeing the condition of affairs, to declare null the vows taken by the empress and her brothers.

According to law, judgment on the conspirators belonged to the emperor and the diet. Lewis was too good-hearted to deliver judgment in a case where he was the injured party and the accuser. He transferred the office of judge in his behalf to the three sons of his first marriage. They had, in company with the estates of the realm, to investigate and judge, and thus the pardoned Lothaire had to sit in judgment on his fellow-conspirators. This intrusion of Lothaire into the court of justice has in it something so cruel, so alien to the disposition of the emperor, that it must have been a suggestion of his revengeful stepmother. Lothaire had thus to act as judge of a court in which, as was clearly to be seen, since Frank law regulated the proceedings, all the conspirators would be sentenced to death. Lothaire had either to withdraw under some pretext from the court, or join in the sentence of death. This moral monster did not retire from the court; without any apology he joined in pronouncing sentence of death on all those who had been prompted by him and acted for his interests. The empress and her councillors sought thus to deprive the co-regent of all his followers, morally destroy him in their eyes, and win many hearts for herself and the emperor.

The emperor did not allow the sentence of death to be executed; he changed it to loss of fiefs and offices and to banishment. He then proposed a new partition. Lothaire was deposed from his partnership in the empire, and confined to Italy. The private property taken from him, and the governments annexed thereto, went, as he had promised Guntbald, to increase the shares of Pipin and Lewis, and partly that of Charles the son of Judith. But the emperor was induced by the empress to declare

that he reserved the right to increase the share of that son who should thenceforth be most obedient, at the cost of those who were disobedient. This transparent statement enraged Pipin and Lewis of Bavaria to such an extent that they formed a fresh league against their father, especially as Judith and her favorites ruled as they liked, and in a fashion which gave much cause for displeasure. At the first summons of the emperor the free Saxons and a portion of the East Franks marched with their forces to his aid. The Saxon commanders of the emperor and the loyal Franks surprised Lewis in Bavaria while he was still making preparation, compelled him to throw himself at the feet of the emperor and beg and pray for mercy. Nominally in command of his troops, the emperor in May marched to the West to meet Pipin. Here, too, the troops of loyal Saxons and Franks won the victory over the revolt. In October, 832, at a diet held at Orleans, the emperor Lewis and the estates of the empire sat in judgment on Pipin. Lewis had received full pardon; Pipin had to pay the penalty.

The intriguing empress had had bitter experiences, into which her maternal love and care for her son Charles and his inheritance had led her. When she was in luck, she forgot all warnings given by what she had gone through. Two passions only were alive in her—a thirst for revenge, and an augmented desire to obtain the chief share of the inheritance for her son, and to disqualify for resistance the other sons whom she plundered. At her entreaties, the emperor declared his son Pipin deprived of his kingdom of Aquitaine, and enfeoffed Judith's son Charles with this government. The grandees of this southwestern country took to the youthful Charles, as their king, the oath demanded by the emperor.

Pope Gregory IV. had been looking with satisfaction at this confusion in the imperial family. As Lothaire had been dispatched to Italy, he formed an alliance with him, and a truly Satanic conspiracy against "Lewis the Pious" was formed by them. Gregory IV. saw that the time had now come to humiliate the empire of the Germans, to show the world how the Church executes the divine punishments she threatens on kings who act against the will of Holy Church, to make the position of the Papal See more independent in Italy, and to display before the whole Christian world the Church in her "power over kings and emperors," in "her divine eminence on earth."

The Pope had found that Lothaire was easily ruled by the Church—easier than his brothers; the emperor Lewis, with all his ecclesiastical piety, was unyielding in the chief point concerning the Papal See, its dependence on the imperial throne. He clung steadfastly to his supremacy over the Pope and the Pope's territories. In consequence, Lothaire, easily managed by the Pope, must mount the throne—the father must come down. With this object in view, Pope Gregory IV. formed with Lothaire a secret plot to overthrow the emperor and empress. The empress, it was clear, was the influence which withdrew her husband from the rule of the clergy, and would neither suffer the clergy to overtop the emperor, nor the Papacy the empire. The Swabian empress was not, like the Frank Irmengard, ruled by the

priests. The Pope accompanied his confederate Lothaire over the Alps, when the latter crossed with his troops to unite once more with his brothers against his father.

Pipin had easily persuaded his brother Lewis, that as his kingdom of Aquitaine had been given to their half-brother Charles, they would all be ruined by the power of their step-mother over their father, who would at last make his darling Charles the sole heir. The Pope hypocritically pretended that he came to Germany to make peace between father and sons; the sons had invited him because they wished for reconciliation, and the Pope alone could bring it about.

But at Worms the Holy Father showed clearly to those of the assembled bishops who were loyal to the emperor that he was the fourth in the band of conspirators against the emperor, and only appeared to strengthen the revolters by the authority of the Church—the sons with an army were on the left bank of the Upper Rhine—and promote the enterprise by his personal aid. These loyal clergy told the Pope to his face, that if he went on in his hostility to the emperor, he might expect deposition from the emperor to whom he had sworn allegiance, and excommunication from the German bishops. Such statements confirmed Gregory IV. in his resolution to pull down the emperor, and the imperial party which held such sentiments. The Pope declared he would go to the camp of the sons to labor for peace and reconciliation, while the emperor with his host of Franks marched towards the Upper Rhine to meet his sons.

The now beautiful city of Colmar, in Upper Alsace, was then an appanage of the Frank crown. On the wide plain of Colmar, the father on one side, the sons on the other, pitched their camps in June, 833. This flat tract on the bank of the Rhine is called the Red field (Rothfeld). On the 28th of June, Pope Gregory crossed from the camp of the sons to that of the father. The pious emperor joyfully received the first priest of Christendom, honoring him, the peace-maker, as an angel of blessing.

The Pope addressed himself to the bishops and abbots who surrounded the emperor, and to the temporal grandees. He addressed himself to the emperor, and protracted the negotiation. Meanwhile agents who had come with the Pope from the two sons were busy in the emperor's camp with presents and promises, and gained over completely the leaders whom the Pope had already disposed to treason. And while the Pope was purposely prolonging the negotiations troop after troop passed over from the camp of the emperor, who suspected nothing of it, to the camp of his sons. After the return of Gregory, most of the bishops and abbots and a considerable number of the temporal lords followed him in the night, and went over with their armed followers to the sons.

In the morning the emperor, who had dreamt of a reconciliation by the Pope's influence, saw his camp deserted, his lieges seduced by the Pope to treason. Only a few had remained faithful. "Leave me too," he cried to them; "go over to my sons, I beg you; for me let no one lose life or limb." Then those who had fiefs of the Church or were dependent on temporal lords, left him too, but with tears. Only a small band of freemen and a number of crown vassals remained with the emperor.

The sons violently demanded that their father come to them, or they would attack his camp. The emperor sends a request that they leave to him some spot where he can live with Judith and his little son Charles. On receipt of this request, the sons showed themselves friendly; they rode to meet him, and respectfully dismounted from their horses when they came in sight of him. The emperor bids them to remember what they had solemnly promised for his person, his wife, and his son Charles. They promised to keep their engagements. Then the emperor embraced and kissed his three sons as only a father can kiss those he loves, and followed them to their camp.

When they had him in their power, they changed their behavior. They declared their father, their step-mother and their half-brother to be prisoners. They declared him deprived of the throne, and separate him from his wife and child; they part the mother from her son as well as her husband. All three were placed in confinement in the cloister; the emperor in the abbey of St. Medard at Soissons, the empress at Tortona in Italy, the little Charles in the abbey of Prüm in the Ardennes near Treves, in the poor and unhealthy Eifelgebirg.

The day on which the three sons and the Pope practised this treachery was the

29th June, 833. The Red field on which it took place was henceforth called in the mouth of all people "The Field of Lies."

What hand the Pope had in these actions, how the public opinion of the people condemned the treacherous and dishonorable conduct of the Pope, is shown in the brief, dry remarks of the contemporary Hincmar, the politic and worthy archbishop of Rheims, the man of the highest position in the Church. "The Pope returned to Rome with little honor." Lothaire's Italian clerical followers had devised a trick which the Pope left them to execute after his departure. Lothaire was actually in possession of the imperial power; he had made a new division of the crown property between himself and his brothers. But there was needed some show for the imperial power which Lothaire had seized in such a fashion. This could only be attained by a formal renunciation of the throne by the Emperor Lewis. Everything had been tried in vain to bring him to this after his captivity at Colmar. Clerical appeals, craft, intrigue, ill-treatment, threats were broken against his steadfast endurance, although his son Lothaire had dragged him from place to place before he delivered him to the convent of Soissons.

The great Emperor Charles, who, because he was great, made no distinction between the noble and the peasant, and declared talent and merit the only distinctions, had given a female serf as wet-nurse to the delicate son of Hildegard, her last born, Lewis, and had allowed his foster-brother Ebbo to be brought up with him. To this carefully educated serf he gave his freedom. Ebbo's mother, therefore, was not of German blood, but of Gallo-Romanic or Slavonic origin; for at that time among the Franks and other Germans of pure blood, there were no German serfs. Lewis from his youth had given his foster-brother his love and confidence, and when he was emperor had promoted him from one position to another till he became archbishop of Rheims.

Ebbo was the chief traitor towards Lewis. He was a fellow conspirator with Lothaire and the Pope. He was selected to be, and became the spiritual torturer of the man who had loved him from childhood, had heaped benefits on him and raised him aloft. As he could not be brought to renounce the throne, it was necessary to degrade him so in the eyes of the people, that every attempt to regain the imperial power would be cut short; he must be destroyed in public opinion, and the spiritual power must be displayed in its grandeur over the temporal power. There was an article of ecclesiastical law which said that whoever on account of previous sin had been subjected to a public penance, was incapable of ever bearing arms, and must henceforth live as a penitent. This article had never been inserted in the Frank laws, and yet the enemies of the emperor used it as the lever to hurl him from his throne. His foster-brother Ebbo plied the imprisoned emperor in the seclusion of the cell in which he was detained, with all spiritual torments of the conscience; when he departed, other priests succeeded and continued the work of terror, without giving Lewis rest by day or night. They told him he had forfeited the grace of God; they depicted hell in all its horrors; they presented the devil bodily before him. They pointed

out public penance as the only escape from all these alarms. Unceasingly, without giving him rest, without letting him hear or see a friend, by day and especially by night, Ebbo and Agobard the cruel slanderer of the empress, the profligate archbishop of Lyons, continued to torture him till the lonely captive resigned himself to a public penance.

On the 13th November, 833, King Lothaire brought the Emperor Lewis, the son brought the father, the perjured bishops and archbishops brought the head of the empire to whom they had sworn allegiance, from his desolate cell to the church of St. Medard. A monstrous crowd had been purposely collected. Before the high altar a shirt of hair is laid down. He is ordered to kneel upon it. A parchment is delivered to him as he kneels, on which all his actual sins, and a string of fictitious crimes are set down, sins which he never had committed or could commit: "Parricide, sacrilege, blasphemy and perjury." This catalogue of sins the emperor, without any suspicion of the sins enumerated in the last part, reads in the tone and posture of a penitent before the assembled people; he had read even the last lines, and the people had heard them, before he recovered consciousness and a sense of what he accused himself. Scarcely has his last word died away, when Goswin, bishop of Osnaburg, tears the imperial sword from his side, and wrests it from the struggling Lewis; another, perhaps Agobard, tears the imperial mantle from his shoulder; and immediately a third, probably Ebbo, puts on him the gray penitential shirt of hair on which he had been kneeling. And all this before the eyes of Lothaire, the first-born of this dishonored father. The spectacle is at an end. They lead the emperor clad in his hair-shirt back to his cell, in the expectation of obtaining from one so broken and shattered, the signature of his renunciation of the throne and the assumption of the monastic robe.

Priestly malice was at fault, like the shameless son; the Emperor Lewis would not put pen to paper, much less would he give a lock of his hair to the shears of the monastic baldpates.

That they had not, by means of this satanic trickery, arrived at their end, the making Lewis incapacitated for the throne by this public degradation, was discovered by Lothaire and the priests even at Soissons. In the very city where the scene in the church of St. Medard had taken place, it affected the people very differently from what they had calculated—so utterly differently that Lothaire and the priests present hasten with the ill-used father and emperor to Aix-la-Chapelle.

There Lothaire acted in his rage against his unyielding father, "in a way not human," say the contemporary chronicles. But "his clerical enemies tortured him still more cruelly, day and night, with spiritual threatenings, with torments of conscience, in closer confinement." The Church was determined, without being deterred by the atrocity of the means, to make Lothaire emperor, and, on the foundation of his pliable want of character, to establish herself forever above the temporal power. All the exquisite tortures of the soul, by which nearly a thousand years afterwards the Jesuits made themselves infamous, were well known to the fanatic priests of that day.

The name of Jesuistry arose with Loyola; the thing existed ever since a priestly caste existed, even among the heathen. But this species of evil which cloaks itself in the robes of a servant of God, has become more cultivated and refined in the course of ages.

What was it, then, which stepped forward in behalf of the inhumanly treated emperor, and rescued him from his misery? It was the very nationality from which Lewis had held aloof—the pure German people. Lewis had adopted Romanic views in the Gallo-Romanic west of his kingdom, and the Romanic clergy, his only company, had drawn him away from German customs and modes of life, had purposely cut him loose from the root of his house, from Germany.

When the news of what had happened reached the Saxons, Swabians, and Bavarians, there was but one feeling, that of shame and indignation at such attempts of the foreign clergy. Here, where German hearts and blood and German speech had remained unmixed and unpolluted, here nothing but anger and astonishment were seen that either Pope or bishop could have imagined that they could deprive their emperor and lord of his dignity by a word or a sentence. The excitement rose to a violent movement among the pure Germans. To protect, against such assumptions of the clergy, their emperor and lord, the elected of all the nations of the Frank empire, to free him from his captivity, the Germans arose in arms in many districts, and this armed uprising became so powerful that even Lewis the German, who had been previously in accord with the other godless brothers, saw no course open to him but to place himself at the head of the movement. A better feeling, cool calculation, and the power of public opinion among the Germans, brought him at last to this conclusion.

When he saw things pushed to such extremities with his father, extremities beyond what he could suspect, on the part of the ambitious priesthood and his priest-led brother Lothaire, he was deeply moved by the remains of the feelings of childhood, and by the sight of the German wrath which he beheld in all directions. He sent immediately envoys to Lothaire at Aix-la-Chapelle demanding respectful treatment of his father the emperor. The envoys were abruptly dismissed. On this, Lewis formed the idea that his brother Lothaire, after removing his father, would have no hesitation in putting him and his brother Pipin out of the way. The ordinance respecting the succession to the throne already gave Lothaire the power of reducing both his brothers to a very subordinate position. The same thought decided Pipin too to act with his brother Lewis, with a view to free their father and emperor. Lewis raised his standard, and there flocked to it Swabians, Bavarians, Saxons, and other Germans in crowds, while at the same time Pipin, with his Aquitanians and West Franks, advanced from the west. Before this double danger, Lothaire fled with such speed that he had to leave in the Abbey of St. Denis at Paris his father, whom he had brought from Aix-la-Chapelle.

In February, 834, the bishops who had a little while before condemned the emperor, declared him released from the penance imposed, clothed him again with



the insignia of imperial dignity and his arms, and humbled themselves before him as one "who had obtained again the grace of God." Loyal attendants set free his wife Judith, and restored her to him. The German people, who had so terrified the higher clergy, joyfully escorted the released emperor to Metz, and crowned him afresh.

Lothaire in the meanwhile collected his forces, but after a few battles was brought to submit. He, the grievous sinner against his father and his emperor, fell at his feet and begged for grace, at Blois; the emperor not only pardoned him, but was so weak and unwise as to leave Italy to him as under-king.

The old but newly-crowned emperor had again all the power of an emperor in his hands. With inconceivable weakness he forgave all who had sinned against him; he forgot the past. His preference for his vicious son Lothaire remained, and the sons who had delivered him from the cloister and deposition he neglected for his beloved Lothaire and his darling child, his son by Judith.

It might have been expected that the melancholy experiences through which he had passed would have made him act for the future with justice towards Pipin and Lewis, and be on his guard against the clergy. But he retained no memory of what he had endured, and therefore displayed no want of confidence. They still exercised over him a power which was limited by nothing but the still higher power which his dearly-loved Judith possessed. The name Judith (Jutta) was a standing name of the daughters of the house of Welf, and the sons and daughters of the house were for centuries devoted sons and daughters of the Church, as indeed the wife of the emperor was in a high degree.

Although all the power of the empire was again in his hand, he still did not seek to win the esteem of his people by attention to the business of the empire. Anxiety respecting his convents lay closer to his heart than the affairs of the state; he reflected and consulted, as if they were the most important things in the world, about the cut and color of hoods, about the *forte* and *piano* of the tone of the bells for the various services of the church or cloister. It is uncertain whether his own suggestion or those of the Romish priesthood led to an action which has caused an irreparable loss to the German tongue and literature.

His father Charles had reduced to writing the German sagas and lays of heroes which were current by oral tradition, and collected those which were already in manuscript. These songs, celebrating heathen heroes and heathen gods, were an offence to the clergy, and they determined to destroy the heathen lays and sagas collected by Charles, and the German heroic poems which had been committed to writing, even those of the Christian period which were not of a religious character. To the Roman clergy the German language was a relic of heathendom, especially to the priests who spoke Romanic dialects. The German language must be abolished, like other remains of heathendom, by Romanic influences, just as it had given way to the Romanic and Arabic in the west of France and Spain, just as the Gaedhelic had long ago given way to the Romanic on the Continent of Europe. Lewis "the pious" destroyed the old German heroic lays and sagas which his great father had collected,

without an idea that he was destroying the only written monuments of old German poetry and history. The slavish devotion to the Church exhibited by the emperor Lewis is best described as "stupid piety." Does it not seem as if even then a dim instinct warned the Romish clergy in their hatred of the German language and literature that danger from the German tongue and bible threatened their power which had built itself up on darkness?

This devotion to the Church which led him to act counter to the wishes of his great father, did not deter him from crying injustice towards the sons who had restored him to his throne and wife. In the October of 837 he held a brilliant diet at Aix-la-Chapelle, and made a new partition of his Frank dominions; he increased the inheritance of Charles, the child of his beloved Judith, at the cost of the sons who deserved so well of him, of Lewis and Pipin; he gave the best part of the empire to Charles—Neustria, Alemannia, Provence, the Westgothic lands, and the greatest part of the Low Countries. This angered Lewis and Pipin, but the latter acquiesced. He was sick and expecting death, and he wished by this act of obedience to commend his still young sons to his father in case of his decease. He was present at the diet at Quiercy in September, 838, where the emperor declared his son Charles, then in his fifteenth year, to be of full age, and died on the 13th of December following. But Lewis had taken up arms in November to defend his states against the emperor, who wished to deprive him of some portions, and limit him, as before, to Bavaria. The emperor's forces were, however, superior to those of the son; the fortune of war was on the side of the unjust father, and, after a war of five months, Lewis the German saw himself reduced to submit and sue for pardon. The emperor granted the pardon, but took from him all his territory except Bavaria, and gave it to Charles, the son of the Welfian (Guelphian) Judith, in April, 839.

In June the emperor Lewis made a second partition of his dominion in the diet at Worms. By this the two sons of the deceased Pipin were disinherited, and their shares divided between Lothaire and Charles the son of Judith. Lothaire's part consisted then of a domain formed from Italy and German territory; Charles's share consisted of what is now France. Lothaire engaged to protect and maintain his half-brother in the domains assigned to him. Lewis obtained no part of the inheritance; he saw himself restricted to Bavaria. It was Judith who had suggested this injustice to his son and grandson. Lewis the emperor marched at once toward the domains of his late son Pipin to deprive his innocent grandchildren of their inheritance, and enrich with it his son Charles. But the men of Lyon and Narbonne flew to arms in defence of Pipin's sons, and before the emperor could make any progress in this direction, the revolt of his son Lewis recalled him to the East; for Lewis of Bavaria had already advanced as far as the heart of Thuringia. The rapidity which his father displayed in hurrying from the west into Germany, and his superior numbers, compelled his son to retire to Bavaria, in March, 840. But this war between father and son was interrupted by death, which befell the old emperor on the road to Worms. On an island of the Rhine, near the palace of Ingelheim, he was overtaken by death on the

20th of June, 840, far away from his beloved Judith and his darling Charles. No one of his children was with him. He was laid by the side of his mother in the church of St. Arnulf at Metz.

The reign of this emperor was remarkable for nothing but misfortune, which, for the most part, he brought on himself, and for the unnatural deeds of those who were the nearest to him. He is a melancholy figure, this Lewis "the Pious," *le Debonnaire*, following so close on Charles the Great—an example of what priestly and female influence can make of the sons of a most distinguished father, and to what "piety of the parson order" can bring a ruler.

When Lothaire in Italy learnt the death of the emperor, he sent letters to all the lands of the Frank empire, saying that he entered upon the heritage of his father, and summoned all to do homage to him as emperor. When Judith had heard from the physicians that the disease of the lungs under which her husband labored would have a fatal result, she sent, in the name of the dying emperor, the insignia of empire to Lothaire, with the emperor's request that he would keep the covenant made with his half-brother Charles, and protect him in the territory assigned him. Lothaire paid no respect to the letter; but in his proclamation to the empire he made mention of the sending of the tokens of the imperial dignity; he declared it to be a proof of his right to succeed and to claim general homage. It was evident to the advisers of the widowed empress, and to herself, that Lothaire wished to be sole monarch, and that the majority of the clergy supported him. The war against Lewis the German was not yet ended, and Judith resolved to secede with her son from the armed alliance she had entered into with Lothaire, and to form a league with Lewis against Lothaire, for she perceived that the latter, after having, with the help of Charles, got Lewis out of his way, would immediately proceed to rob Charles of his half of the empire.

The nobles of Alsace, Burgundy, and other territories belonging to Charles's share, had already been induced by the clergy to recognize the claims of Lothaire. Lothaire had already occupied some portions with his troops, and thereby ended all hesitation in the mind of Judith and Charles. The whole family of the late emperor united with Lewis the German, and formed a powerful armed league against Lothaire. Only Pipin II., the nephew of Lothaire in Aquitaine, had been gained by the clergy for Lothaire. Lewis the German made overtures of accommodation to his brother Lothaire, but the latter rejected them, relying on the alliance he had made with Pipin II., who was on his flank and rear, and on the power of the nobility and clergy. His foolish confidence overlooked the freemen among the Franks and the old population of the Gallic country, who were for Charles and Lewis, who hated him for his unforgotten misdeeds towards his father, and who formed a force not to be despised.

The war between the brothers progressed. Before the armies of Charles and Lewis had formed a junction, the Germans under Lewis had defeated Lothaire's advanced troops on the Ries, on the frontier between Würtemberg and Bavaria. But the decisive engagement took place on the 21st of June, 841. Germans formed the bulk of the army of Lewis and Charles; foreigners, that of Lothaire. The ques-

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tion was not, who was to wear the crown, but whether there was to be one empire or three. The German element was opposed to the non-German. The battle was one of the bloodiest on record, and long undecided. The loss on both sides was greater than in any fight in the memory of mankind. The flower of the nobility perished; as the surviving poem respecting the battle says, "There perished in this bitter fight the valiant, the experienced in battle." When Lothaire was compelled to retreat, the slaughter of his people was horrible; the retreat was a rout. The field of the battle was the plain near Fontenailles, near Auxerre, in Lower Burgundy, in the department of the Yonne.

"Men have never heard of such a defeat among the Franks," are the words of the account. In the belief of the day, battle was the judgment of God; and God here had sternly decided against the claims of the Roman clergy, against Lothaire, "the emperor of the clergy," against the idea of the new Roman empire, against the unity of the Frank power, against the coexistence of the German and non-German elements under one head, against the Mezentian union of two radically different nationalities, the German and the Romanic. The pure Germans had long since regarded themselves as distinct not only from the Romanic population, but from the Romanized Germans.

Great as was the defeat of Lothaire, the victors, nevertheless, could not follow up their victory; they had lost a great part of their warriors; and the Frank nobility, here and there, on the battlefield, saved Lothaire from destruction. He could not continue the war, but by means which only despair could dictate. The Northmen, the deadliest foes of the country, were introduced into the country as his allies; he bought their aid by the cession of whole districts. At the same time he sought to seduce the Alemanni, East Franks, and Saxons, that is, the freemen and vassals of these countries; he promised that if they would rise against the German nobility, he would, after victory, restore to them all their liberties just as they were in heathen times. Lothaire's success was trifling in the case of the Alemanni and East Franks; but he succeeded with a portion of the Saxons. Among the Alemanni and the East Franks, the freeholders and freemen had better resisted the encroachments of the clerical and lay nobility; their experience since the days of Charles the Great had taught them clearly that it was better for them to form a separate pure German kingdom. The military levies of Charles the Great had ruinously affected the East Franks; they were compelled to follow his banners over the Pyrenees, and as far as Lower Italy. Under their king Lewis the German, they had not to quit their own borders. They therefore, like the nobles, were for Lewis and a separate kingdom. Moreover, they had got rid of many of their feudal lords in the battle of Fontenailles.

But the Saxons of the northeast were in a very different condition. They had fought longer than any for old domestic liberty; not merely for independence of the Franks, but for the old original Saxon constitution. The Saxon nobles had, for the most part, united with the intruding Frank nobles; they were free from the hateful tithe, and were participants in all the privileges of the Frank feudal lords, and now

were playing the lord over the other Saxons, just like the feudal nobility of Frank origin.

Lothaire, in his distress, sent his secret agents to these Saxons, because he knew that they had not only lost their old laws by means of the feudal nobility and the clergy, but that the freeholders and freemen were both groaning under the oppression of the nobility, especially the Stedingers, a branch of the Frisians on both banks of the Weser. Lothaire promised, if they aided him, to give them back their franchises and laws just as they had enjoyed them while they retained their old religion. The Stedingers flew to arms, drove from their cantons the hated nobles, the priests and lords of Saxon and Frank blood, and began again to live in old fashion as freemen.

The brief contemporary accounts lead us to suppose that King Lewis got the leaders into his power by treachery, after Lothaire and he had made peace. In August, 842, he entered the country of the Stedingers, but we do not hear of any battle, and must conjecture, therefore, that the Stedingers capitulated on terms which were not kept. The peasantry, who had come in on the capitulation, were suddenly treated as rebels, their chiefs arrested, one hundred and forty of them beheaded, fourteen hung, freemen and serfs mutilated in large numbers. But in the following winter of 842 and 843, the freeholders again rose up against the excessive oppression of the returned nobility, but before Lewis arrived in person, the Frank and Saxon nobility had overcome the freeholders in a bloody fight, and slain many. Thus the yoke of tyranny was pressed heavier down on the necks of the freemen.

The two brothers Lewis and Charles confirmed their alliance by an oath which they took at Strasburg on the 14th February, 842, in presence of both armies, and both armies bound themselves by a solemn oath to renounce allegiance to the one who should break, and serve the one who should keep faith. Thus the alliance of the kings was put under the guarantee of the people.

The Latin tongue, the tongue of the Church and clergy, had hitherto been the official language of all public acts, political as well as ecclesiastical. But now at Strasburg, where the allied armies were lying on the Rhine, everything was transacted in the mother tongues of the two armies, in order that all the warriors might understand what the princes and the people undertook. The oaths were read in French for the Romanic warriors, in German for the Germans, and the words of both the kings and their peoples are still extant, the oldest memorials of the old Romanic and old High-German languages.

In March, 842, the two allied kings convoked at Aix-la-Chapelle an assembly of bishops and prelates. This assembly declared Lothaire to be "a vicious and incompetent ruler," and invoked the two brothers to make a new division of the empire. This assembly of clerical dignitaries thus assumed, like the succeeding popes, to create and depose kings. "By virtue of divine authority," were the words they used publicly in their declaration.

The Church had not found Lothaire vicious when in her interests he had treated so cruelly his father; she had not found him vicious when he waged war against his

brother and despoiled him by perjury ; but now when Lewis and Charles were victorious and Lothaire's fortune had declined, the man who had been vicious from his youth, and whom in spite thereof she had raised and held up, was now dropped by the Church as if he had suddenly become vicious.

The attempt of Lothaire to arouse the Saxons had now its effect. King Lewis and the clergy feared on the one side the extension of the Saxon revolt to other German districts, and on the other, some new attempt of Lothaire to stir up the commons *en masse*. It was this which caused anxiety to the clergy, and seemed full of danger to the nobility. The long war and the distress consequent on it had embittered the people ; and the clergy urged Lewis and Charles as well as Lothaire to listen to its demands for peace and repose. The distress was great. Compelled by want of means, Lothaire had seized property belonging to the Church and cloister, which also contributed to the displeasure of the clergy against him ; Charles, driven by dire necessity, had deprived the mother, who out of affection for him had so often led his father into injustice, of all the property Lewis the Pious had left her, and the Empress Judith died in sorrow and want at Tours on the 19th April, 843, before peace was concluded.

How great must the misery of the people have been, when that king, who had been all his life long the man of the clergy, attacked the property of the Church ; when another left his mother and her court destitute in order to raise means to carry on the war ! The people were so exhausted that despair drove both kings to such resources. Did the Guelph Judith see any retaliation in the condition of the closing days of her life ?

From Strasburg the brothers Lewis and Charles had gone to Aix-la-Chapelle where Lothaire was collecting his forces. But in spite of his alliance with the Northmen, and because he had not come forward at the proper time to support the Saxon revolt, he was forced to give way ; he was now willing to accept the terms which Lewis and Charles had offered before the fight of Fontenailles, but some time still elapsed before the three brothers yielded to the pressure of the people, the clergy, and those of the feudal nobility who were tired and exhausted with the long war, and concluded a peace.

The three sons of Lewis the Pious made the treaty of Verdun in August, 843. By its terms, Lothaire retained the dignity of emperor, Italy, the land from the Mediterranean along the Rhone to the confluence with the Saone, and the land between the Rhine, the Maas and the Scheldt to the North Sea. Lewis received as his Bavarian kingdom, all the countries beyond the Rhine, as far as they belonged to the Frank monarchy, Swabia, the greater portion of Switzerland (the districts of the Jura belonged to Lothaire), the Nordgau, the countries of Speir, Worms and Mainz beyond the Rhine, all Saxony and Thuringia from the frontier against the Danes and Slaves on the Elbe and Eider as far as the mouth of the Werra and the lower Rhine. Charles received everything west of Lothaire's dominions, Neustria and the part of France belonging to his nephew Pipin II. The unscrupulous Lothaire sacrificed his ally, and allowed him to be despoiled by his uncle.



Pipin II. had, however, such a hold on the affections of his people, that his uncle Charles was forced, after a struggle of two years, to leave him in independent possession of Aquitaine and the Spanish March. Not till the year 848 did the intrigues of Charles and the treachery of Pipin's nobles succeed in annexing this territory. Pipin wandered about, sought aid from the Northmen in recovering his kingdom, and to please his wild allies, he, the grandchild of Louis "the pious," became a convert from Christianity to heathenism. In an attack on his uncle's states Pipin was captured and condemned by the nobles, particularly the clerical ones, to death. But the uncle commuted it to the tonsure and close confinement in the convent of Senlis. Behind the walls of this convent this descendant of Charles the Great passed from sight. His uncles retained his lands. But vengeance was tracking them, and hastened the downfall of the house of the Carolingians.

The treaty of Verdun was a partition of the Frank monarchy into three kingdoms perfectly independent of each other; but Germany was not, as is often asserted, created a kingdom thereby. It is quite erroneous to maintain that the foundation of the German empire is to be dated from the treaty of Verdun, as the following facts show.

Not till thirty-six years after the treaty of Verdun were the boundaries of Germany those that have remained for centuries. Moreover, Germany so far as it fell to Lewis the German was not held united; his three sons divided it up. Germany by this treaty was not finally separated from France, for the Emperor Charles the Fat united them again in one empire. Finally, the treaty of Verdun did not accomplish the union of the pure German populations into a German kingdom. For not merely many, but very large pure German districts were excluded from the kingdom of Lewis.

Burgundy, Alsace, the archbishopric of Treves, the Rhine-Franks from the Saxon border, the land of the Frisians from the mouth of the Rhine to the Weser belonged to Lothaire; Flanders belonged to Charles.

In the kingdom of Lothaire were German and non-German populations; but the Germans themselves were divided into pure and mixed. In the territories of Lewis the population was chiefly pure German with a few Slaves; but the German Empire, united Germany, did not consist of his states. We can only say that the treaty of Verdun made a beginning for what did not appear till 919; that is, sixty-six years later under Henry the Saxon; the beginning of a German Empire under a head recognized by all the German races.

For the moment, the division of the Frank monarchy of Charles the Great into three independent kingdoms was complete. Each of the brothers was equal to the others, and, in spite of his dignity as Roman emperor, Lothaire was not overlord of his brothers; their kingdoms were not under the imperial crown. The dominions of Lewis were not yet styled "Germany" nor "German Empire"; the dominions of Charles were not yet France; these names are of later appearance. Lewis was called at times king of the Bavarians, at times king of the East Franks, at times king of the Alemanni.

*THE TREATY OF VERDUN.*

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## CHAPTER VIII

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**INTRIGUES AND DEATH OF LOTHAIRE I.—WAR BETWEEN THE KINGS LEWIS AND CHARLES—DISSENSION BETWEEN THE SONS OF LOTHAIRE—THE FALSE DECRE-TALS—THE DISPUTE ABOUT THE MARRIAGE OF LOTHAIRE II.—THE LETTER OF SUBMISSION TO THE POPE NICHOLAS I. SENT BY LOTHAIRE II. AND HIS UNCLE LEWIS—DOMESTIC MISFORTUNES OF KING CHARLES—THE COMPLIANT BISHOPS OF LOTHAIRE II.—JOURNEY OF LOTHAIRE TO ROME—TRIUMPH OF THE PRIESTHOOD OVER ROYALTY.**

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**I**N the order of succession to the throne promulgated at Aix-la-Chapelle in 817, Lewis the Pious had expressly given to the holder of the imperial dignity the supremacy over his brothers, and Lothaire took it hard that this supremacy was no longer his.

He worked for years in silence to recover it. With this object he excited disturbances in the dominions of his brothers; and when discontented nobles in Charles's territories offered the crown to King Lewis, who accepted the offer, Lothaire's son Lewis went with an army to take possession, but found so little support among the majority of the nobles that he quickly withdrew his forces in the autumn of 854. But Lothaire never reached the object of his endeavors. He fell so sick in 855 that he believed his end approaching, resigned his imperial dignity and kingdom, entered the Abbey of Prüm near Treves, became a monk, and died six days afterward. He had previously divided his territories among his three sons. His first-born, Lewis II., had been crowned as his successor by Pope Leo IV. in the year 850. His second son, Lothaire II., had been shown such excessive partiality in the division of his estates, that bitter discord arose among the three sons. It would have been easy for the uncles to appropriate to themselves, during the contest of these sons, the lands left by the emperor Lothaire I. But the uncles Charles and Lewis were such bitter enemies, that Charles said to his half-brother Lewis, "that he would come with such an army that their horses would drink up the Rhine, and allow him to cross dryshod and make his land a wilderness."

To punish Lewis and strip him of his dominions, Charles raised up enemies within and enemies without. But Lewis intrigued with the discontented nobles of Charles's dominions, and led an army across the frontiers, and then the lords who had come to

an understanding with him, passed over from the standard of Charles to that of Lewis, and in November, 858, all the territories of Charles, except Burgundy, were in the possession of Lewis. Lewis now dismissed his German soldiers, who were unwilling to remain longer outside their own borders, having already done and sacrificed enough for their military obligations. Lewis trusted himself to the nobles who had deserted from Charles, oblivious of the fact that those who had been traitors to King Charles would likely prove traitors to himself also. Charles took advantage of his brother's want of thought, gained over by gold the nobles and their troops, and the lately victorious Lewis thought himself lucky to escape by flight from the traitors who would have delivered him to Charles. This treason broke over the head of Lewis on the 15th of January, 859.

King Lewis had to thank the mediation of his nephew, Lothaire II., for the peace which was made between him and Charles—a peace in which Lewis had to make no sacrifices. It was concluded at Coblenz on the 5th of June, 860. Lothaire II. had received from his father all the German and French districts belonging to the emperor Lothaire's portion of the empire, with the exception of Provence and the adjacent territory on the Rhone, and King Lewis found his safety in this arrangement which gave these territories adjacent to Charles's dominions to the nephew with whom he was in alliance. This alliance between nephew and uncle had no moral foundation.

Lothaire II. had business with Pope Nicholas I., and sought support from his uncle Lewis.

Before he attained his majority, that is, before his fifteenth year, he had formed a connection with Waldrada, a daughter of a noble house, and lived with her. Soon after the death of his father the emperor, he married legally Thietberga, the sister of a powerful Burgundian grandee. It was a political marriage to strengthen him in the struggle against his less richly endowed brothers. When he had got the better of them, he left the wife he had married scarcely two years before, and lived openly with Waldrada. His own nobility, however, compelled him to restore Thietberga to her rights, but he treated her as a prisoner. Waldrada wished to be wife and queen, and Lothaire's thoughts were occupied day and night how to dissolve his marriage with Thietberga. Threats, ill-treatment, tortures of body and mind, were employed towards the unfortunate queen by the archbishops Günther of Cologne, Thietgaud of Treves, and other clerical accomplices who lent themselves to do this dirty work for Lothaire II.; they extorted from the queen the confession that she had committed incest with her brother, and was therefore unworthy of the royal bed; she desired to enter a convent and devote the rest of her life to penance. This confession was made in January, 860. Her noble relatives urged her to revoke her confession, but the evil arts of the archbishops, their threats, the sufferings she had borne, had rendered her so weak of will that, by word of mouth and by her hand, she confirmed her earlier declarations in the synod at Aix, to which Lothaire II., in February, 860, had summoned a number of prelates, mostly his own creatures. The clergy condemned her to public penance and detention in a convent.

But Lothaire II. did not hereby attain his wishes. The synod did not venture to annul the marriage between him and Thietberga. They were in fear of King Charles and the severe Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims. Hincmar was the most considerable clerical statesman of the time, and Charles, who in later times got the surname of "the Bald," had long cast covetous glances on the states of Lothaire II., most of

which would fall to his lot if Lothaire died childless. He was thus in favor of maintaining the barren marriage with Thietberga, and opposing his nephew's marriage with Waldrada, who had already borne him a son, which would be legitimized by the subsequent marriage of his parents.

By the aid of Charles and her brother, Thietberga escaped from her confinement. The king received the fugitive, who, when she saw herself safe from her tormentors, publicly recanted her false and extorted confession, and appealed to Pope Nicholas I. The accomplished and esteemed Hincmar was moved by Charles to conduct the defence of the innocent queen.

The Church of Rome had for a long time been seeking to exalt her power by forged documents of many kinds. Her masterpiece in this line had been the Decretals of the Pseudo-Isidore; the completion and publication of these false decretals took place between the years 844 and 853. The most strenuous defenders of the Church, like Philipps, have, in our day, acknowledged this collection of decretals to be a fraud. The collection did not proceed from the Papal court; the latter only adopted it, with full knowledge of the fraud. The object of these documents, partly fictitious, partly falsified, was to separate entirely church and state by annihilating the powers of the bishops, and to make the Pope absolute head of all Christendom, by rejecting the rights of synods, while the bishops were reduced to be mere organs and deputies of the Pope. According to these false decretals, the Pope alone united the highest legislative, supervisory, and judicial powers, over the head of the princes of the Church and temporal princes, over kings and emperors. According to these decretals, the provincial synods of Christendom were not competent unless they were assembled by special authority of the Pope, and the validity of their decrees was made dependent on confirmation by the Pope.

These fictions and forgeries represented that such rights and prerogatives had been possessed by the Papal See since the first Christian centuries. Those who were in a position to expose the monstrous fraud, the clergy who had been let into the secret, held their peace. Thus these fraudulent compositions were treated as genuine, when Pope Nicholas, in full knowledge of their fraudulent character, assumed them to be genuine, employed them for the benefit of the Church, and removed every doubt of their genuineness by his authority as Head of the Church. In the then condition of the states of the successors of Charles the Great, it was possible to bring the world to believe, by means of the false decretals, that the Pope was the absolute over-lord of Christendom, not merely the Head of the Church; that he had actually the highest power on earth over all Christians without distinction of rank; that he had, together with the power of legislation and supervision, the highest judicial power, from whose decisions there was no appeal. The weaknesses of all these Frank kings played into the hands of the Roman See by a series of actions. The latter needed not to seek for an opportunity to put into practice the theory of supremacy; the kings made opportunities for the Pope.

As early as 858, Charles the Bald had accused his brother Lewis before the Pope for breach of treaty covenants, and Lewis justified his conduct in the matter by an ambassador dispatched to Rome. Lothaire's immorality produced the appeal of the ill-used Thietberga to the Pope. Lothaire II. ceded Alsace to his uncle Lewis to gain his support against Charles the Bald, the protector of Thietberga, and to purchase his good word with the Pope.

The letter which King Lewis and his nephew Lothaire II. sent to the Pope to induce him not to act against Lothaire in his conjugal dispute, is an indelible blot on Lewis the German; the other spots on his life are not so black as this one. The impolicy of this proceeding was as great as the immorality which led to it. The

royal writers dishonored themselves so far that, in place of rejecting all foreign intermeddling in the internal arrangements of the Frank states, they invited it, in their favor, and against Charles the Bald, his intrigues and cupidity. Nay, they declared their desire to show their "humble submission" to the Papal See, and "to protect the Pope in the authority committed to him by God."

Pope Nicholas now saw two Frank kings before his throne, who offered to him submission to the authority of the Papal See, and therefore also their military support to render valid the "authority committed to him by God." On the other side stood an innocent queen, Thietberga, who had appealed to him, and her protector, another Frank king, and he one who relied solely on the innocence and the right of her he protected. At the same time he saw before him the Emperor Lewis II., brother of Lothaire II., an emperor in name and appearance only, a parody on imperial authority, a miserable representative of the empire of Charles the Great. When Lothaire had obtained the support of his two brothers Lewis II. and the younger Charles by ceding large territories, Charles the Bald was evidently in danger of succumbing to the united power of the three brothers and their uncle. They gained over to their side soon afterwards two sons of Charles the Bald who were seduced into revolt against their father, as well as his daughter Judith and her third husband, Count Baldwin Iron-arm (*Bras de fer*) of Flanders.

Charles the Bald had little joy in this daughter; he had married her to Ethelwolf, king of the East Angles, who was advanced in years. Her aged husband died, and in spite of the prohibitions of the canon law and the voice of the English people, his widow married her stepson Ethelbald. The people and clergy of England revolted at this action; the Church insisted on the dissolution of her marriage; longer residence in England was impossible; she returned to her father's court. Here in French territory, where the morals of the great were free to dissoluteness, and where it was considered good breeding to do whatever the heart listed in spite of all moral or ecclesiastical laws, or popular opinion—here Charles the Bald found himself compelled to watch over his daughter. But she found opportunity, nevertheless, to love and be loved; she allowed herself to be carried off by her lover, Baldwin, one of the princes subject to King Lothaire II., and found the kindest welcome at his court. The lovers were little troubled by the excommunication fulminated against them by the bishops of Charles the Bald.

The match then between Charles and his opponents was one to seven. These odds caused the Pope to reflect; he kept silence in the interests of his newly claimed power which he would not risk while matters were in this position. He kept silence till the second year of the dispute, and King Lothaire II. was convinced that his letter of submission, his promises, the condition of affairs had brought the Pope to his side. He convoked therefore at Aix-la-Chapelle the most servile of his bishops, and on the 29th April, 862, this packed synod decided as the king wished; they dissolved his marriage with Thietberga, and declared him free to contract another marriage. Lothaire II. had promised in his disgraceful letter "humble submission to



Papal authority." Without any regard to this promise or to the Pope, the king immediately solemnized his marriage with Waldrada, and had her crowned as queen.

As soon as Lothaire perceived how unfavorable was the impression made by this conduct on the Pope, he held a meeting of all his allied kindred on the 3d November, 862, at Sablonnières near Toul, and the chief subject of discussion was, to restore concord in the house of Charles the Great; discord had rendered possible the assumptions of the Pope; all the Carolingians must now stand together to make it impossible for the Pope to intervene as supreme judge in their affairs.

The feeling of morality in the people, low as it had sunk, was yet not so low as to remain dumb at such conduct of their princes. The people revolted against this marriage and coronation of Waldrada, this servility of the bishops; and the loud expression of this moral feeling among the people placed Pope Nicholas in a position which seemed to him strong enough to enable him to do whatever he found necessary for the interests of the Church and the Roman See; that is, his new claims. Although Nicholas in truth was no Elijah, but adopted, to gain his ends, the vilest means, forgery and fraud, he yet knew how to assume the part of an indignant prophet, a prophet of morality and justice, an avenger of oppressed innocence, a champion of public opinion in opposition to the immoral and unjust king, Lothaire II.

He commenced by sending Papal legates to investigate impartially the question of the king's marriage. They convoked a synod at Metz for this purpose. But the solemn assembly so magnificently put on the stage was a farce. The legates of the Pope, Bishop Rhadoald of Bordeaux and John Cervea were bribed by Lothaire II.; they falsified their credentials and acted with the bishops, mere creatures of the king, who formed the synod. Queen Thietberga was summoned. She demanded a safe conduct. King Lothaire refused it. She did not appear, and the synod declared her non-appearance proved an evil conscience, pronounced her licentious husband Lothaire free from all crime, and confirmed the previous judgment against Queen Thietberga. All the bishops present subscribed the protocol without conditions; only one refused. He added to his subscription the proviso that this resolution of the synod was to be valid only till the Pope decided. This addition two companions and accomplices of the vices of the king erased with a knife, leaving only the name standing. These accomplices were the Archbishops Günther of Cologne and Thietgaud of Treves, the same villains who in January, 860, had extorted from the unfortunate Thietberga, by torments of every kind, a confession of the crimes imputed to her, and who had obtained her condemnation.

This took place at the synod of Metz in June, 863. The archbishops of Cologne and Treves in person bore the decrees to Rome.

When Pope Nicholas saw that, for power and gold, the synod had made vice into innocence, and innocence into a sin—made the king's harlot a lawful wife, and the lawful wife a harlot, he assembled a council at the Lateran in Rome on the 30th October, 863. At this great assembly of the Church, the decrees of the synod of Metz were rejected as vicious in law, moral or religious, and the deposition of the two

archbishops was pronounced. The king was ordered immediately to renounce his adulterous union with Waldrada, and to acknowledge Thietberga as his wife.

The deposed archbishops of Cologne and Treves, hastened, full of rage, to the Emperor Lewis II., brother of King Lothaire II., to whom Italy had been assigned. This shadow-emperor was already discontented with the Pope; he was induced by the Frank archbishops to march with an army towards Rome in February, 864. Nicholas was without an army, and therefore in great danger. But the emperor fell suddenly sick; his sickness was represented to him as God's judgment for his attack on the Holy See; he hastened to be reconciled with the Pope, and repudiated all connection with the archbishops. They published to all the bishops a protest against their deposition, in which they represented that the Pope alone had condemned them. But this was not so; they had been condemned by a Lateran council, and the only novelty was that the concerns of these archbishops were discussed without the co-operation of the bishops of their provinces. The Pope had for the first time used the false decretals against archbishops. But the people were all for the Pope; they saw justice in him, and cared little whether his proceedings injured the rights of bishops.

King Lothaire II. gave up these two archbishops, although they had acted in every instance only to please him, and he hoped that in consequence the Pope might take a more favorable view. But Nicholas ordered the restoration of Thietberga to all her rights, the repudiation of Waldrada and her surrender to the new legate, Bishop Arsenius of Orta, in order that she might undergo the penances befitting her crimes. The Pope's orders, in August, 865, were so energetic and threatening, that King Lothaire humbled himself, reconciled himself with Thietberga, swore solemnly to regard her as his wife and queen, and delivered Waldrada to the Papal legate. But it was only a concerted submission for the moment, a little comedy performed by the king. Waldrada, by Lothaire's assistance, escaped from the legate at Pavia; he resumed his life with her, and Thietberga's ill-usage recommenced. On the second of February, 866, the Pope pronounced by a solemn act a sentence of excommunication from the Church on Waldrada, her aiders and accomplices.

The effect of the Pope's sentence was great; not because it proceeded from the lips of the Pope, but because, in proportion as the royal power was degrading itself by abandoned life and conduct, the Papal power was raising itself in the eyes of the world higher and higher, and, by punishing vice and contempt of human and divine laws, showed itself as the voice of God upon earth, the judge and punisher of the great ones of the earth.

Nicholas had so far spared the infatuated Lothaire that he had not named him or included his name in the sentence of excommunication which he pronounced against Waldrada. He left the king to decide whether he would submit, or continue one of the accomplices of Waldrada. Nicholas at first did not go so far as to include the king, as king, in the excommunication, for the simple reason that he saw himself without material power to carry it out; that if he expressly cut off the king from

the fellowship of the Church, he had no arm to give to such a sentence and its consequence the effect which it required if he would not impair the dignity and authority of the Pope by promulgating sentences which the king disregarded. Even Charles the Bald, the Pope's only ally, seemed to hesitate, for he, like the other Frank kings, found it a dangerous thing to allow the Pope to sit in judgment and pass sentence on temporal princes.

The unceasing ill-usage to which Thietberga was subjected by Lothaire II., brought her to write a letter to the Pope, in which she declared her own marriage illegal, and Waldrada the legal wife of Lothaire. Nicholas, however, saw how this letter had been obtained from the unfortunate queen; but before he could proceed further, he died on the 13th of November, 867.

Nicholas I. was scarcely fifty years old when death cut short his career. Had the life of this powerful and clear-sighted man been prolonged, the See of Rome would have then become the throne of universal dominion, and the Papal tiara would have been placed above the crown of the emperors. But it could not yet be so. The development of popular life in Europe was more important than the settling of the matrimonial affairs of an immoral king. The question now took a turn which, more deeply than any preceding action, hurt the moral feeling of the people. The decision of the new Pope was thoroughly hostile to morality. The Papacy lost thereby much of the power and might in the eyes of the people which it had gained by the conduct of the great Pope Nicholas I.; it was the error of the Church herself that checked the sudden growth of her hierarchy, and God Himself took in hand by His judgment to satisfy the moral feelings of the people.

The election of Pope has been so often influenced by the gold and intrigues of kings, that we may assume that King Lothaire II. and his brother the emperor Lewis II. influenced the election of Hadrian II., an old man of seventy-five, and of weak character, as the successor of the energetic Nicholas I.

The Pope consented at once to institute a new investigation about the marriage. Lothaire II. himself brought Thietberga to Rome, but under such circumstances that she herself begged from the Holy Father a dissolution of her marriage. The Pope assented to the preliminary separation of Lothaire and Thietberga, and, on the entreaty of Lewis II., he received Waldrada back into the fold of the Church, without any penance, without laying on her any other orders than to discontinue all intercourse with King Lothaire. This took place in February, 868.

Lothaire had found in his sister-in-law, the empress Engelberga, a powerful advocate with the aged Pope. To obtain everything without delay, the complete divorce from Thietberga and the acknowledgment of Waldrada as his lawful wife, Lothaire betook himself, in June, 869, to Italy with a large and brilliant train. The empress had so worked on the Pope that he gave the king a friendly reception. The late Pope Nicholas had repeatedly threatened the king with exclusion from the Church; the simple belief of the people considered the king as one implied under the words, "Waldrada, her aiders and accomplices," and the king now urged on Pope Hadrian

his request that he would in person give him the Eucharist, that thus he might appear before the world as reconciled with the Church, and clear from any suspicion of being included in the ban of excommunication. In the autumn of this year the king's chief accomplice had already obtained absolution from the Pope. This was Thietgaud, archbishop of Treves, who soon after died.

To the desire of the king to receive the Eucharist from his hands, Pope Hadrian replied by expressly stipulating that the king and his whole following should, before receiving the Communion, take an oath of compurgation that he had had no intercourse with Waldrada since the sentence of excommunication. King Lothaire and his followers took the oath, a great oath in German eyes; for among all the Germans, as well as among the Franks, it was an oath only taken in exceptional circumstances.

The Pope then, with his own hand, publicly gave the king the Holy Eucharist. He also gave it to Günther, the archbishop of Cologne, the second great sinner and accomplice of the king, and with it a prospect of restoration to his bishopric. The decision respecting Lothaire's marriage was remitted by Hadrian to the next general council.

King Lothaire and his party, joyfully and with joyful anticipations, set out for their homes beyond the Alps, at the end of July, 869. But they had brought from Rome the seeds of death. Seized by that deadly fever which, throughout the Middle Ages, carried off so many Germans, King Lothaire II. died at Piacenza on the 8th of August, 869, and almost all his followers with him. Thietberga had, by the king's command, commenced her journey some days after him, and only came up when he was dead. Waldrada was far away. Thietberga gave two of her estates to found masses for his soul, took the veil, and died abbess of the convent of St. Glodesinde at Metz. Waldrada became a nun at Remiremont on the Moselle. This celebrated abbey in the Vosges had the rule that none but noble ladies were admitted; with the exception of the abbess, they had the privilege of departing and getting married if they liked. But no lover more came for Waldrada.

The death of the king and his train, and the character of the death, while he was still on Italian soil, and not far from the place where he and they had taken the oath of purgation, made an immense impression on high and low; for all the world knew that the oath was a false oath, and saw, in this sudden death, a punishment of God for perjury. The partisans of the Roman See knew how to use the event; they

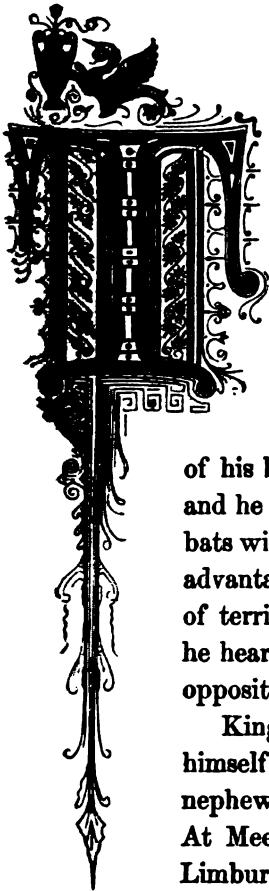
represented that God had punished the king and his accomplices because they had lied to and deceived God's vicar on earth, the Pope. The voluntary journey of Lothaire over the Alps was represented, even by contemporary clerical writers, as a journey to which the king had been compelled by repeated summons from the Pope to appear before his chair as the highest tribunal over kings and people. So far the contemporary clergy went; in the following century the pen of the monks wrote down: "Lothaire confessed with penitent heart his guilt before the Papal chair, and, prostrate, sued for pardon from the Pope."

## CHAPTER IX.

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CONVENTION AT MEERSEN—CHARLES THE BALD ANOINTED AS EMPEROR—HIS SACRIFICES TO THE PAPACY—BATTLE AT ANDERNACH—PARTITION OF THE DOMINIONS OF LEWIS THE GERMAN—CHARLES THE FAT—ATTACKS OF THE NORTHMEN AND SARACENS—STRUGGLE IN MORAVIA—DEPOSITION OF CHARLES THE FAT—THE EMPEROR ARNULF—THE MAGYARS—LEWIS THE CHILD, THE LAST MALE DESCENDANT OF CHARLES THE GREAT IN GERMANY.

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**H**E sudden death of King Lothaire II. happened very opportunely for his uncles Charles the Bald and Lewis the German. Lothaire's youngest brother Charles had died in 863 without a son, and his brothers, the Emperor Lewis and King Lothaire, had divided between them his territories, Provence and the neighboring lands on the Rhone. The lawful heir of all the countries possessed by Lothaire II. was now his elder brother the Emperor Lewis. But he, as king of Italy, was detained and occupied in the south of Italy at the time of his brother's death; the Saracen had invaded his southern provinces, and he was exhausting his strength in unequal and unsuccessful combats with these fanatics of the Mahometan faith. Charles the Bald took advantage of his nephew's distress, and, with his thirst for extension of territory, threw himself on the domains left by Lothaire as soon as he heard of his death, and annexed them to his own dominions without opposition.

King Lewis the German, the other uncle of the rightful heir, set himself against this robbery, not with any view of protecting his nephew's heritage, but to obtain from the spoiler a share in the spoil. At Meerssen, near Maestricht, the capital of the present province of Limburg, where the Jaar flows into the Maas, Lewis the German and Charles the Bald made an agreement by which they divided, after a long struggle, the states left by Lothaire II. The greater portion remained with Charles, but he was compelled to cede to Lewis the German all the German territory on the left bank of the Rhine, that is, the country of the Ripuarian Franks, and

Friesland—in fact, every German district possessed by Lothaire II. All the rest was retained by Charles the Bald; this territory was essentially Romanic.

Among the districts ceded to Lewis the German by the convention of Meerssen, were the cities of Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, Treves, Strasburg, and the cities of Alsace. Can there be a more striking proof that the convention of Verdun had not formed the German empire?

But King Lewis the German was not to be happy in his acquisitions. His younger sons, Lewis and Charles, revolted a few months afterwards, just as he in his youth had revolted against his father. In order that his nephew Lewis II. might not take part with his rebellious children, Lewis the German entered into negotiations with Lewis the emperor for the restitution to the rightful heir, the said Emperor, of his share of the possessions of Lothaire II. In May, 872, he met the Empress Engelberga at Trent. The emperor had been long sick, and pining away; he had no son. His uncle Lewis, therefore, undertook to surrender the fair districts he had seized, and the emperor in return promised to acknowledge either Lewis the German himself or his son Carloman as heir of all his lands on both sides of the Alps, and as his successor in the imperial dignity. So much was arranged with Engelberga. But in the next couple of years neither the one nor the other chief point of this bargain was fulfilled. The Emperor Lewis would not bequeath Italy and the imperial crown to his uncle Lewis, before the latter handed over the possessions of Lothaire; and Lewis the German would not surrender these districts before the emperor his nephew had solemnly and by legal documents declared him or Carloman his heir. But when death was drawing nigh, the Emperor Lewis II. nominated Carloman, the oldest son of Lewis the German, as his successor in the Roman empire, and died immediately afterwards, on the 12th of August, 875.

But in expectation of the decease of his nephew Lewis II., King Charles the Bald had gone to Italy and come to an understanding with the Pope. Hadrian II. had been succeeded, in the year 872, by Pope John VIII. This Pope was full of zeal for the extension of the power of the Roman See; he regarded himself as God's servant to contend against the princes and rulers of this world; he shared with Nicholas I. energy, perseverance, the wisdom of the serpent, and recklessness as to the means employed. He had one idea for which he staked everything—the exaltation of the might and dominion of the Roman See; he was a sworn foe of all that stood in the way of carrying out this idea. On this account he was opposed to a powerful Italy, a powerful Germany; and because the power of these kingdoms rested on the unity of the one and the other, he labored unceasingly to prevent either Italy or Germany attaining repose and unity, to divide and perplex them internally, and to make himself the ultimate judge over both the kings when they had been exhausted by their strife.

With this object, and in anticipation of the approaching death of the Emperor Lewis II., he had invited Charles the Bald to come to Italy and take possession of the imperial title and the Transalpine dominions of the Emperor Lewis. Pope John knew the unscrupulousness, the covetousness, the low moral character of Charles the Bald,

and found him fit to aid the Church in making the world believe that the Pope alone could make the emperor, that the vicar of the Apostles Peter and Paul could alone bestow the crown. The objection that Carloman, the oldest son of King Lewis the German, as the branch of the older line, had been named emperor by the dying Lothaire II., and had therefore, according to existing custom, a lawful claim on the Roman empire, was met by the reply of the Pope that "his predecessor Nicholas I. had received a divine revelation that he was to crown the Frank Charles the Bald as emperor," and disregard the claims of Lewis the German and his son.

This "divine revelation" was a trade between the Pope and the king, between John VIII. and Charles the Bald. Both regarded the imperial crown as something which one had to sell, the other had to buy; a long time was consumed in settling the price.

The seller demanded from the purchaser an acknowledgment that the bestowal of the imperial crown was "a divine right of the Pope." Charles acknowledged it. The seller, in the second place, demanded a considerable material sacrifice, the payment of a large sum of money, and the cession of the noble city of Capua and other possessions belonging to the late emperor Lewis II., to the See of Rome. The seller, in the third place, demanded the destruction of the last ecclesiastical bulwark of the independence of the Frank church, which it had still maintained in opposition to the absolute supremacy of the Pope. Up to this date the Frank archbishops had maintained such an independent position within the Church that Papal decrees could be quashed by a synod in the Frank dominions, that is, were declared invalid for the countries beyond the Alps. When the Roman See, relying on the false decretals, claimed unlimited power within the Church, Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, had boldly and strongly opposed the claim; the very same Hincmar had done such service to Charles the Bald in his defence of Thietberga against Lothaire II. As long as the existing constitution of the Frank church was retained, Archbishop of Rheims was primate, that is, head of the bishoprics and abbacies



situated in the Romanized districts of the Frank monarchy. Charles now conceded to the Pope that henceforth the primate of the Frank church was to be nominated by the Pope. The Pope at once nominated the Archbishop Ansegisius as Apostolic Vicar for Gaul and Germany and primate of the Frank church. Charles furthermore granted that henceforward the installation of the archbishop was to be dependent on the Pope's good-will; that the bishops were to be free from all temporal jurisdiction, and have the wardship of widows and orphans. This last clause, granted in 877, tamed the bishops who had been previously roused to opposition by Hincmar.

By these Papal usurpations, not only did Hincmar lose his high personal position, but the whole Frank church lost her independence as a national church; she was no longer such; there now began a submission of the Frank national church to the absolute supremacy of the Roman See, and the Franks had in their own territories an ecclesiastical grandee as representative and tool of the Pope—namely, the apostolic vicar nominated by the Pope.

The archbishops in the countries of Charles the Bald, who clearly perceived that these innovations were the death-blow to their personal independence, had resolved, in a synod at Ponthion, not to accept the new primate and apostolic vicar whom the Pope wished to force on them; but the strength of their opposition was broken by the Pope, who made great concessions to the bishops in a synod convoked the next year in Ravenna. The bishops looked only to their own interests; the independence of their archbishops and the continuance of their national church occupied their thoughts very little. As they obtained such great liberties as the price of acquiescence, they allowed the existing constitution of the church to be changed and pulled to pieces. It seemed more convenient to them to be immediately subject to the far distant Pope than to a powerful, proud, and often severe archbishop at their very doors. The bishops, therefore, declared in favor of the Papal innovations, and the new Emperor Charles and Pope John VIII. imposed on France the apostolic vicar as primate.

Charles the Bald sacrificed to the Papacy the most important imperial prerogatives, the nationality of the church and the independence of the archbishops; and the Pope, in return, anointed him emperor. This success was attained, not merely by the aid of the Pope, but by perjury towards his nephew.

Carloman, the son of Lewis the German, the rightful claimant of the empire, had hurriedly occupied Upper Italy with his Bavarians and High-Germans, and thus reduced Charles to great straits, for the forces which had accompanied Charles were no match for those of Carloman. The crafty uncle invited the nephew to a conference in September, 875. The nephew was beguiled into believing everything; the uncle made great promises, and swore a solemn oath that he would evacuate Italy as soon as Carloman withdrew his troops, and let King Lewis the German decide to whom the Italian territories should fall. The son of Lewis the German, upon this, concluded an armistice till the next month of May, that is, for eight months—an interval employed by the unscrupulous uncle in bargaining with the Pope, and being

anointed emperor. The coronation by the Pope, and the signing of the contract of sale whereby Charles acquired the crown, took place on Christmas-day, 875. It was an exchange of Christmas gifts, and the Pope was not shocked that the oath taken to the nephew thus became a false oath.

On the 28th of August, 878, King Lewis the German died. He had long been sickly, and evidently approaching his death. It was on this account that Charles had referred to him the decision between him and Carloman; he had good hopes that it would never come to a decision. Scarcely was Lewis the German buried when the war between Charles and Carloman recommenced; Charles had sought to annex to his dominions considerable portions of the land of the deceased to the prejudice of his three sons. The imperial crown had put the aged Charles the Bald quite out of his senses. Naturally vain, he surrounded himself with Oriental magnificence, and on Sundays and holy days exhibited himself clothed from head to foot with the dress worn by the Greek emperors in Constantinople. But his joy in imitating the emperor of the Greeks was interrupted soon; Carloman and the two other sons of Lewis the German united against their rapacious uncle, and at Andernach, on the left bank of the Rhine, Lewis, the brother of Carloman, gave him such a defeat on the 8th of October, 876, that his desire for annexation was forever frustrated.

This battle of Andernach had a deeper import. "It is," writes Dümmler, "the first of a long series, in which the East Franks and the West Franks, or, as we say now-a-days, the Germans and the French, measured their strength; the first, at all events, in which Germans victoriously maintained their independence and their frontiers against their neighbors in the West."

The comedy of eastern imperialism was broken off by the death of Charles on the 6th of October, 877, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. His patron and friend, Pope John VIII., did not end gloriously; punishment for his support of perjury soon overtook him. Threatened by the Saracen invaders of Lower Italy, pressed in Rome by a Roman party and a German party, he with difficulty kept his throne, often enough by evil means, by secret practices which took off his opponents. He perished finally by assassination in the year 882, in the fifth year after the death of the perjured king and emperor whose accomplice he had been.

The Papal power under John VIII. and his successors would have made the national churches and the empire subject to its authority, had not party strife within the walls of Rome and the attacks of the Saracens kept the occupants of the Apostolic See so busy within Italy that they had neither time nor means to make their external pretensions valid. From the Carolingian house there would have been little or no opposition. This race had so degenerated that nature herself was hurrying it to its end. Only two members of this house exhibited any of the stuff which made Charles Martel and his successors into great kings, and these two were taken off by early deaths, like Carloman, son of Lewis the German, Lewis III., son of Charles the Bald, and Arnulf, natural son of Carloman.

The degradation of the other scions of the Carolingian house is shown by the

names given them by popular wit, names derived from their mental or bodily weaknesses.

Charles the Bald was succeeded by his son Lewis II. as king of the West Frank dominions; the people called him the Stammerer. He was weak in mind and body. In exactly a year and a half after his accession he lay on his bier, on the 10th of

April, 879. His sons Lewis II. and Carloman divided his possessions. Lewis III., young as he was, showed himself a valiant prince, and became celebrated by a song popular among the West Franks, and still extant. But on the 5th of August, 882, not quite two years and a half after his father, he was placed in the tomb of his ancestors, and two years later, on the 12th of December, 884, his brother Carloman departed this life. There now existed only two legitimate descendants of the once flourishing house of the Carlovingians. One a posthumous son of Lewis the Stammerer, a child of five years of age, and therefore incapable of reigning, and, in addition, so dull of intellect that he was described in his maturity as Charles the Simple. The other was the third son of King Lewis the German, nicknamed Charles the Fat.

Immediately after the defeat of Charles the Bald at Andernach, in November, 876, the three sons of Lewis the German met at the Ries, on the borders of Swabia and Bavaria, and, in fraternal harmony, divided their father's dominions, according to the natural national frontiers, and as directed by their father in 865. Alemannia and a portion of Upper Lorraine fell to the share of the youngest of the brothers, Charles the Fat. The second brother, Lewis, obtained Thuringia, Saxony, Friesland, and the rest of Lorraine. Carloman, the oldest, received Carinthia, the

Eastern March, Moravia and Bohemia, that is, the greater part of the German territories of the present house of Austria.

Thus one-third of the empire of Charles the Great was again subdivided into three portions, and Carloman immediately proceeded to divide his portion with his natural son Arnulf, to whom he gave Carinthia.

When the Emperor Charles the Bald was dead, Carloman crossed the Alps and took possession of Upper Italy. He could have obtained at once from Pope John VIII.

the imperial crown, and have been anointed emperor, but the concessions he had to make in return seemed to Carloman unacceptable; he would not, like his bald uncle, buy the diadem and the unction at such a shameful price. He was in good health when he entered Italy; he returned home sick, carried in a litter; in the following winter a stroke of paralysis took away the power of speech. Death set him free in the year 880. He had no legitimate successor, and his two brothers had extended their rule over his territories while he lay sick unto death; Charles the Fat took Upper Italy; Lewis took his German provinces.

In the autumn of 879, soon after the death of the Stammerer, Lewis had made an armed invasion of the West Frank countries, and extorted a cession of the lands given to Charles the Bald by the convention of Meersen. All Lorraine was thus joined to Germany. But Lewis, too, was called away by death on the 20th of January, 882, and left no son. His only legitimate son, as well as one born out of wedlock, had died before him. Thus Charles the Fat and the minor Charles the Simple alone were left of the whole male progeny of Charles the Great.

Fortune at first smiled on Charles the Fat, as she so often does on fools, on whom she showers her richest gifts.

Charles the Fat, without having to make any concessions to the Pope, received what had escaped his brother Carloman, the imperial crown. The fat Charles became emperor in February, 881; Pope John VIII. had given him the dignity because he had lent the Pope support when hard pressed by the Saracens and his domestic foes. The possessions of his brother Carloman had fallen to him, and now those of his brother Lewis fell to his lot. He not only reunited under one king the three divisions of the kingdom of Lewis the German, but the West Frank dominions, the whole territory of Charles the Bald, now fell to him. He had one thing in common with Charles the Great; he united under one crown the collective power of the Franks. This reunion of the realm under him, who was the direct opposite of Charles the Great, was brought about by three lucky events: first, by his being the only Carlovingian capable of reigning; secondly, by the nobility and people still retaining their affection for the house of the Great Charles; thirdly, by the influence of the name of emperor among the nations which did not know him intimately.

The grandees of the West Franks elected him as their king, just as the East Frank nobles had done. It would be a thoroughly false view to assume, from narratives speaking only of successors, that the Franks had discontinued the right of election, and that the kingdom had become hereditary. Charles the Bald knew by experience that election alone made a king of the Franks, when he fancied election was no longer necessary. In truth, since only the grandees of the country elected the king, it was easy for a Carlovingian, by well known means, to procure his own election, and have himself raised on the shield by the people dependent on the grandees. The kings we have been describing of the house of the Carlovingians did not succeed as heirs to the kingly power but by election, even if this election under given circumstances was a mere formality; moreover, in the case of the house of Charles Martel and Charles the

Great, as in that of the house of Clovis, the attachment of the Franks to the ruling house was so great, that the eldest son was elected king even if only of moderate capacity for rule, provided always that he was not excluded from eligibility by utter incapacity.

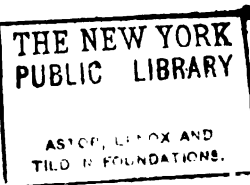
The circumstances of the period spoke strongly in favor of consolidating all the force of the West and East Franks under one head; for the frontiers, especially on the West, were threatened at this time by their old enemies, the Northmen.

Although they were of German blood, the Northmen continued their piratical raids on the Frank coasts. The home of these northern German tribes, especially the Scandinavian peninsula, was rich in population and poor in fertile soil. Although party strife raged in their own countries about the middle of the ninth century, and the long struggle between the nobility and the commons mowed down alike commons and nobility, yet the prolific nature of these North Germans supplied the voids made by civil war and foreign adventures with such rapidity in comparison with the numbers which the soil or the fisheries could support, that the surplus population had to seek sustenance elsewhere. These northern coasts had, centuries before, been the rich source from which the stream of nations had flowed to the south and east of Europe; the Goths, of all the German tribes, had increased in numbers the most and the soonest, and this fecundity which produced the great emigrations of the Goths, still remained a characteristic of these northern lands.

Necessity, caused by the barrenness of their soil and the overplus population, drove the Northmen to the quest of booty, and to this may be added the innate tendency of the old German blood which would rather put hand to the sword than to the plow. This abhorrence of field-labor rendered their lands less fertile in crops than in men.

Moreover, these Northmen loved freedom and hated the Christian church; they saw in the case of their neighbors, their next of kin, the Saxons, how the Franks and the Christian priests who entered Saxony brought taxation, oppression, and servitude with them, the rule of the strange feudal nobility of the Franks, and a priesthood seeking power and wealth. They well recollected that Christian priests, under the name of messengers of the Gospel, had preceded the invasion of the Franks, preached the divinity of Christ, and surveyed the land, as the heathens afterwards said, all around; that then the Frank conquerors came, employing as guides these Christian priests. Christian missionaries who had gone to Denmark and Sweden under the protection of Charles the Great, were partly hunted out of the country, partly slain, not for being Christians, but because they were considered spies and people who carried on two trades—preaching the Gospel, and introducing Frank rule. We have documentary proof that Charles the Great did pursue these two ends, the propagation of Christianity and the extension of his dominions; and in fact everywhere the missionary is the herald of civilization.

French writers of history have long since seen this relation of the Northmen to the Franks, and correctly estimated their hostility to the extension of the Frank empire and to its Christian missions; but the Church historians of Germany, and even political



*NORMANS PLUNDERING.*

histories, speak in terms full of unction of the preaching of the Gospel of Christ to the heathen of the Northern Sea, and the rejection of it by the latter from their attachment to the old heathen faith of their fathers. The truth is, conquest and slavery were brought into Saxony in the train of the Christian faith; the Northmen had complete freedom under their old faith; the Dane and the Swede declined to share the lot of the Saxons; his heathen faith and his heathen freedom was one and the same thing; he protected his faith against the intruding faith of the Franks in order to protect his liberty against Frank conquest, against foreign dominion in things spiritual and temporal.

As early as the last years of Charles the Great, swarms of Northmen on two hundred ships had made a descent on Friesland, and Charles had erected fortifications to protect his coasts, and made a beginning of a Frank fleet to guard his realm from the attacks of the bold Vikingar. But Lewis the Pious neglected these works of his great father, like many other of his creations, and what had been built crumbled down. Only internal strife among the Danes kept back for some time the incursions of the Northmen. But in the years 834 and 837, Friesland, Holland, Flanders, especially the churches and convents, the monks and nuns, suffered terribly from the sea-rovers of the north and their plundering forays. The separation of the Frank monarchy into three kingdoms, the wars among the Carovingians, not only weakened the German and Romanic countries, but their frontiers were opened to these dangerous sons of the North when one brother called in their armed assistance against another, as the Emperor Lothaire I. had done in his struggles against Lewis the German and Charles the Bald. Lothaire endowed the Danish Prince Harold with the island of Walcheren and other districts of Friesland, and gave him and his followers a firm footing in return for the military service they rendered. Lothaire had introduced into the empire the Northmen, the bitter foes of the Franks and Christian worship, and Lewis the German had soon followed the example. He purchased armed support from Rurik, the brother and successor of Harold in the Frisian fiefs, and the aid of Harold's two sons, by enfeoffing all three with lands beyond the Elbe, in Holstein, Stormarn, and Ditmarsch; in other words, he placed these Northern chiefs as feudal lords in this Saxon territory; he placed on pure German soil these enemies, alien in spirit although allied by blood, and gave them for their services a German population as a dotation.

Lothaire attacked without success the brave Rurik in Dorstadt in Friesland. In the year 800 he gave to him and to Harold's son Godfrey the city of Dorstadt and the adjacent counties as fiefs, in order to purchase a discontinuance of the plundering and devastation with which these Norman tenants of the crown afflicted Germany and France. Rurik swore to hold his lands in fief as a guardian of the frontier against his own countrymen; but his nephew Godfrey regarded this so far only as to leave his uncle's fief untouched, and to make a descent with his Vikings on Flanders, sail up the Seine, and plunder the country right and left. They would not retire without taking something home with them; it was nothing to these Vikings that their chief Rurik had become the warden of the Marches of Kennemar, and played the lord over



the old Saxon peasant. The Northmen whom Lewis the German had brought in were such a crowd of warriors by land and sea that their young chief Godfrey had to follow their lead; the troops which the Emperor Lothaire and Charles the Bald led against them refused to fight against the champions of the North. The Romanized Germans as well as the Romanic natives of the dominions of Charles the Great had so sunk in military skill and courage that they were afraid of the uncorrupted heathen German blood which the Danes and Scandinavians represented. Lothaire and Charles the Bald were compelled to cede to Godfrey German territory on the Elbe before he would depart.

Swarms of Northmen had still earlier settled at the mouths of the chief rivers of France, and on the islands in these rivers. In the year 866, Charles purchased with four thousand pounds of silver the retreat of a host of Northmen who had come up the Seine; he even assented to deliver to the Northmen any escaped Frank prisoners, and to pay a considerable money-compensation for any Viking slain after the conclusion of the treaty. Finally, Charles the Bald paid troops of Northmen to protect him against further inroads of their countrymen. To such an extent were these adventurers masters of the northwest coasts. They soon swept onwards towards Spain, and through the Mediterranean to the coasts of Italy.

When the Northmen perceived how the empire of the Franks had sunk in both its German and its Romanic members, they prepared an expedition *en masse*. Not merely separate swarms, but an army of Northmen invaded the land in the reign of Charles the Fat, who bore the imperial crown of Rome and was king of the Germans. Terrible years for the northwest of Germany were the years 881 and 882. No German forces were at hand capable of opposing the army of Northmen. The Saxons who tried to bar their way, isolated and weak, were almost destroyed, and the Northmen carried their wild havoc through all Lower Germany. The famous convents of this district, Prüm, Stablo, and Malmedy, in the province of Liege, the magnificent imperial palace at Aix-la-Chapelle, were plundered and made stables for their horses; they stabled their steeds in the chapel of the emperors. The cities of Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne, Bonn, Coblenz, Treves, were burnt, and other small cities met the same fate.

Two miles from Maestricht, near Elsloo, the Northmen formed a strong camp, whence they made excursions, and whither they returned as to a gathering-place for men and booty. Military levies from all parts of Germany were collected to meet the increasing danger, and Charles the Fat led the army against the Northmen. He found them behind their intrenchments not far from the Maas. The army of Charles the Fat was so numerous that he quite surrounded the lines of the Northmen, and cut them off from the Maas and their ships, as well as from all succor. Clearly the Northmen could not long remain in this situation; they would have been destroyed if Charles had only remained sitting before their camp. There was no need for him to attack them and give them battle; hunger and privation of every sort would have speedily compelled surrender. But in place of waiting a few days he made terms with them.

News had come that the Moravians had invaded the Eastern Marches, and at the same time the Pope earnestly requested the emperor's assistance against the attacks made on him by Duke Guido (Vitus) of Spoleto, by the Greeks and Saracens of Lower Italy. Charles then made terms with the Northmen for the sake of being enabled to employ his forces in this direction. Germany threatened, the Pope crying for aid—this was too much for the composure of Charles the Fat; the spiritual advisers, who had most influence on him, easily persuaded the weak emperor. For these clerical lords pursued, not the interests of the empire, but of the Church, their own private interests. To support the Pope against the Saracens, to extend the faith among the Northmen, were more important things in the eyes of the bishops than the needs of Lower Germany. The German history of the time tells us that "Liutward, the archbishop of Vercelli, and the Count Wigbert, acted towards their lord, Charles the Fat, in a treacherous manner," that is, they obtained from the Northmen for themselves a good share of the money paid by Charles.

Charles paid the Northmen two thousand pounds of gold. He granted as a fief to Godfrey the conquered portions of West Friesland. Godfrey, in return, submitted to baptism, and the Church celebrated the performance with great splendor. But the splendor did not hide the disgrace of making terms with the Northmen; the Germans did not like this mode of converting enemies, and before the ceremony took place many Germans withdrew in disgust at the shameful treaty, and, inflamed "by zeal for God and Holy Church, slew all the Northmen who fell into their hands." But Charles the Fat punished this conduct by killing or putting out the eyes of those whom he got into his power.

Meanwhile great swarms of Northmen were pouring into France, and the army of Northmen in camp near Maestricht turned in the same direction. Carloman purchased their withdrawal for twelve thousand pounds of silver, and the Northmen engaged to refrain from harrying the West Frank districts for a space of twelve years. But on the death of Carloman in the same year, the Sea-king declared, with a treachery worthy of an old Roman or a modern Jesuit, that the engagement was ended by the death of Carloman; that they had made a convention with the king personally, not with the country of France, not with the successors of Carloman. As impudently as any victorious general of republican Rome, or as the old Gaulish warrior Brennus, who threw his sword into the scale, these Northmen told the West Franks that they must pay a second time the twelve thousand pounds of silver, if they wished them to make with the country the convention they had entered into with the late king individually. If the twelve thousand pounds were not paid at once, France would feel the swords of the Vikings.

This desperate condition of affairs determined the lay and clerical grandees of France to elect as their king, in the year 885, Charles the Fat, king of the East Franks. It seemed to them impossible to protect themselves from these dreaded Northmen; they therefore united again with the East Franks into one empire, in order to protect themselves from the Northmen by the united forces of all the nations which had once belonged to the empire of Charles the Great.

But as the *grandeess* of France did not pay the second twelve thousand pounds of silver, the Northmen came back. Even Godfrey, the lately baptized Sea-king, the feudal tenant of Charles the Fat, was unruly, made new demands, and seemed to be thinking or preparing to join his heathen countrymen in attacking the united Franks. But the more that fortune favored Charles the Fat, the meaner he showed himself. He got rid of his vassal Godfrey, by assassination. This foul murder of Godfrey, the son of the famous Sea-king Harold, one of the royal blood of the Northmen, was the only thing required to arouse the whole race of these sons of the North. Forty thousand warriors invaded the Eastern and Western Franks, laid waste Lorraine and the adjacent districts, and, in November, 885, advanced with seven hundred ships to Paris and besieged the city.

By the good fortune of the city, it was under the command of Count Eudes (Odo), who defended it with heroic courage and skill. For Charles took eight months to collect an army and relieve the city. The inhabitants, in the meantime, both of the city and the country, were hard pressed, and the advanced detachments of Charles's army were beaten. When at last the emperor came, he had a very large force with him. He pitched his camp on Montmartre and the vicinity. But his natural incapacity was now increased by bodily sickness, and amounted almost to idiocy. The Northmen attacked the city as if he were not in their neighborhood, although the imperial army was superior in numbers. The military measures of the emperor were alternately doing nothing and doing something foolish.

The whole French and German nations had expected the punishment, the destruction of these daring Northmen; but instead of beating or driving away, instead of punishing or destroying, the emperor, as of old, entered into cowardly negotiations for the retreat of the Northmen, and paid them seven thousand pounds of silver.

This new disgrace which he had brought upon the imperial crown deprived him of even the last remnants of respect among men who had any feeling of honor, and the universal contempt was employed by a deep-wronged minister to work his utter ruin.

This minister was Liutward, bishop of Vercelli. As archchancellor of the empire he had transacted all the business of the empire, and the weak fat prince had found it very convenient to have such an officer till jealousy calumniated the all-powerful minister. Liutward's enemies aroused the jealousy of the emperor by accusing the bishop of being on too confidential a footing with the empress. The emperor sat in judgment on his wife, placed her in a convent, where she was compelled to take the veil, and deprived Bishop Liutward of his office of chancellor.

The archbishop put himself into communication with the temporal *grandeess* of Germany; he spoke to them of the mental and bodily incapacity of Charles, of the necessity dictated by honor and policy alike, of electing a new head for the empire. He convinced them the more easily that they had seen before Paris a proof of what he alleged against the emperor.

The eyes of many German *grandeess* in the East Frank country, in Saxony, in



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Swabia, the favorite dwelling-places of Charles the Fat, had for some time been directed with hope to the brave, wise and energetic Arnulf, duke of Carinthia. Arnulf was a genuine but illegitimate descendant of Charles the Great, the son of King Carloman and Liutwinde, and had been confirmed in his duchy of Carinthia by his uncles after his father's early death. It was an important district, for at this time the dignity of duke of Carinthia had connected with it the government of Styria, Carniola, and the parts of Hungary under German rule.

The inclination of the nation to Arnulf, who united in his person the military and political qualities of which Germany stood in need, did not escape Charles the Fat; and Arnulf seemed to him the more dangerous because Frank law did not exclude such offspring of love from the throne. The emperor mistrusted him when he saw himself, in spite of his imperial crown, sinking deeper and deeper into contempt. Cunning and malicious, as men of limited understanding usually are, Charles endeavored to get rid of his nephew by exciting the Slavonic prince and legislator, Swatopluk or Zwentibold, the founder of the "Moravian kingdom," to attack the dominions of Arnulf. The wiles of the uncle only served to bring out in brighter colors the noble qualities of Arnulf. Arnulf in these Eastern districts, far from any assistance, exposed to the attacks of hostile nations, was left to face alone the invasion of Swatopluk; and the more brilliant therefore was his success when he repelled the invading foe, and protected the lands entrusted to his charge.

The inhabitants of the country on the Upper Seine and Burgundy were especially bitter against Charles, who had given up these lands as a prey to the Normans, partly as pledges for the payment of the ransom, partly from revenge because the Burgundians had declined to do homage to him. This foolish conduct completed the alienation of this district from the Frank empire.

The German grandees had in secret resolved on the deposition of Charles the Fat. The representatives of all the German races voted for it, even the Swabians, although a portion of these grandees did so with reluctance. They all agreed on the election of Arnulf, the conqueror of Swatopluk.

Arnulf willingly accepted the proposition of the German nobles; he saw that his uncle could not remain longer at the head of the empire without grievous injury to the German nation and to all Christendom; and he had to protect himself against this uncle who had already played him such a mischievous trick, and wished to ruin him.

Charles the Fat had no legitimate son. He had a natural son, named Bernhard, and Charles hoped and worked to make him his successor to the throne. Arnulf, the son of Carloman the elder brother of Charles the Fat, a prince of tried excellence in the cabinet and the field, was, in the eyes of the Germans, much more fitted to be the head of the empire than Bernhard, the stripling son of the younger brother, the child of such a king and emperor as Charles the Fat had been.

In the autumn of 887, Arnulf came from his Alpine dominions into the heart of Germany, not with ducal pomp, but with an army. As he advanced, the nobles of

Bavaria, Franconia, Thuringia and Saxony, who had been initiated into his plans, joined him with their forces.

Charles, on receipt of this intelligence, betook himself to Trisbur, a royal property in the Hessian district of Starkenburg. Here he awaited the arrival of the vassals whom he had summoned with their military array. But when Arnulf approached, the majority of them, even the emperor's ministers, went over to the duke of Carinthia. The emperor saw himself suddenly isolated; a few servants of low rank alone remained. In the spot where the emperor had waited for the assembly of all the

Germans for the purpose of destroying Arnulf, the assembled princes of Germany deposed Charles from his throne and elected Duke Arnulf as head of the Germans.

Nothing remained for Charles the Fat but to put off the German crown from his own head and place it on the head of his nephew, and to accept from the latter an allowance for his support. An ancient chronicle, in telling of the deposition, says: "He came into such poverty that he had no bread. Arnulf gave his uncle a little money, which he thankfully received and lived on"; a statement liable to be mis-

understood. For the best of the royal estates in Alemannia, on the lake of Constance and the Danube, in the districts where he had loved to spend his life, were given to him with all their revenues; he could have lived and maintained a befitting court if he had not had extravagant habits, and if he had lived longer. He died on the 13th January, 888, at Nerdingen on the Danube, two months after he had lost the German crown.

For he had not lost the French crown at the same time; he died before it was taken from him. His death, however, induced the French to carry out the plan which many of them had long had in their minds—the plan of electing a king of their own.

Ten years previously, South Burgundy (Provence) had seceded and formed itself into a petty kingdom, electing Count Boso of Vienne as their king on the 15th October, 879. The creation of this petty kingdom is referred to the pride and ambition of a girl.

Charles the Fat had married Richilda, the sister of Boso, and nominated his brother-in-law duke and governor of Upper Italy. Driven out by the party of the German Carolingians, Boso was made governor of South Burgundy. The new duke carried off Irmengarde, the only child of the Emperor Lewis II., and married her. She thought it beneath her to be the wife of a subject, a mere duchess, and persuaded Boso to establish his kingdom of Provence. The troubles with the Northmen furnished the pretext. Under a king of their own, men said, they could protect themselves from these intruders, and thus a declaration of the independence of the country on the Rhone, west of the Jura, was proclaimed, and the nobility and clergy elected Boso king. His new kingdom embraced Provence, the south of Languedoc, the districts of Vienne, Lyons, Arles, Aix, Avignon, Toulon, Marseilles, Macon, Besançon and Chalons.

From the remaining portions of the old kingdom of Burgundy, on both sides of the Jura, there was formed in 888 another kingdom, styled North Burgundy. The most potent of the nobles between the Jura and the Valais was Count Rudolf. He was a grandson of Count Conrad, the son of the Swabian Count Welf (Guelph) of Altorf, and brother of Judith, second wife of Lewis the Pious. The terrible sufferings inflicted by the Northmen on these districts, and the death of Boso on the 11th of January, 887, aided in making Count Rudolf king of Upper Burgundy. King Boso had left only one son, Lewis, a minor; and Richard, Boso's brother, ruled as his guardian. At this time, Richard took to wife a sister of the Guelph Rudolf. Thus the regent of the kingdom of South Burgundy did not oppose the formation of a new kingdom of North Burgundy in 888. This latter kingdom embraced the land between the Jura and the Pennine Alps, that is, Savoy, the Swiss cantons of Geneva, the Valais, Friburg, Basel, Solothurn, and part of Berne. Soon afterwards Rudolf annexed the county of Burgundy (Franche Comté) which belonged to the minor Lewis. Richard made no opposition; he cared more for his powerful brother-in-law Rudolf than for his nephew and ward Lewis, and for his duty to protect and maintain his rights.



At the same time, in January, 888, many of the West Frank nobles, the French, elected as their king Count Eudes (Odo) of Paris, who had so gloriously defended the city against the Northmen. They wanted a hero to be their leader; they wanted a king of their own, not the German Arnulf, good soldier and wise statesman as he was.

And yet the majority of these French nobles elected as their king, not a Frenchman but a German. Count Eudes was a German; his grandfather Witichin had come from a purely German district, probably from Saxony.

But on this very account other French nobles opposed the election of Eudes. One party argued, "If you will have a German for your king, it is better to elect as king of France the wearer of the German crown, and thus unite under one head the whole forces of the old Frank empire." Those who held this opinion actually offered the French crown to Arnulf, and promised him their support in winning it. The other opponents of Eudes elected Guido, marquis of Spoleto, as king of France. He sprang from a very old and distinguished family of the Franks. Bishop Geilo of Langres crowned him in that town. But he found little armed support, and, unable to maintain himself against Eudes, he resigned the French crown in a few months. He hoped to win a king's crown in Italy.

In Italy there was a king already.

Berengar, marquis of Friuli, had been elected king of Italy by a large portion of the nobility and clergy. His mother was Gisela, a daughter of Lewis the Pious and the Guelphic Judith. Marquis Guido of Spoleto had also a numerous party in Italy, who elected him king in opposition to King Berengar. In October, 888, the two Italian kings met in battle at Brescia, but without decisive results, and they agreed on an armistice till the first day of the following year.

The great empire of the Franks was now divided into five distinct kingdoms. But Arnulf, king of the Germans, was by personal character and the military strength of the German nations, so powerful and respected that the kings of the other countries of the once united Frank empire—of France, Italy, South Burgundy, North Burgundy—acknowledged the supremacy of Arnulf. They were King Eudes of

France, King Rudolf of North Burgundy, King Lewis of South Burgundy, King Berengar of Italy, and they all sought to support their thrones by the aid of the German king, and submitted to his authority. If they had refused to so submit, Arnulf would have enforced submission by arms. Eudes of France came to Worms and took an oath of fealty to the German crown. Rudolf of North Burgundy did the same. Arnulf confirmed them in their titles, and confirmed also the king of South Burgundy, who was still in his nonage; for Irmengard, the beautiful mother of King Lewis, came to Arnulf at Forchheim and did homage in his stead. Berengar was the more ready to acknowledge the supremacy of the German king, as he needed his assistance in his struggle with his rival Guido of Spoleto.

Arnulf could not at once proceed to Italy; he had first to direct his arms against the Northmen in the north and the Slaves in the east of his dominions.

In 890, the Northmen again ravaged Lorraine; the districts on the Maas and Moselle suffered horribly. Arnulf dispatched an army against these ravagers of countries belonging to Germany. But it was surprised by the Northmen; they skillfully got in its rear, and almost exterminated it. The battle took place on the river Geule, near Maestricht, on the 26th of June, 891.

The Northmen had adopted their usual mode of procedure in the countries they invaded. They erected an intrenched camp near Löwen. The Dyle and the marshes formed a natural defence, and strong intrenchments protected the side open to attack. From this camp they sallied out to plunder the country.

On the news of the misfortune that befell the German army, Arnulf in person hastened with a large army to the spot, and attacked the camp. The Northmen, with the Dyle in their rear, the marsh on their front, their intrenchments on their flanks, thought their camp impregnable; they had the reputation of having never been conquered. The flower, the bulk of Arnulf's army, consisted of cavalry, useless

against intrenchments, useless in the marshes. The Northmen on their ramparts greeted them with shouts of laughter.

The German knights, as the Annals of Fulda say, were "quite unaccustomed to fight on foot," so much had the German style of fighting changed since the days of Charles the Great. Arnulf dismounted from his horse, and ordered his cavalry to do the same. Seeing some hesitation, he seized the banner in his hands and rushed towards the intrenchments; the whole body of knights on foot followed him with such ardor and impetuosity, that the Northmen found their camp captured before they had time to look about them, so brief was the conflict. A great number of them fell beneath the swords of the Germans, a greater number perished in the Dyle, into whose waters they flung themselves in their flight. Among the thousands of Northmen who covered the battlefield were their leaders Siegfried and Godfrey; among the spoils were sixteen banners of the Northmen.

This victory was won on the 1st of November, 891.

The Northmen who escaped from the battlefield on the Dyle, returned at the beginning of the next year to the neighborhood of the Moselle and Rhine. They had learnt that King Arnulf was employed in the east of his dominions. On this occasion, in February, 892, they carried their devastations as far as Bonn; but as they had been much reduced by the battle on the Dyle, their inroad was transitory; they hastened home with their plunder, and King Arnulf was compelled to leave them their booty, as he was detained in humbling a greater and more dangerous foe in the east.

Swatopluk had attacked Arnulf when he was duke of Carinthia in 887, but the latter, when king of Germany, did not think of revenge. He knew the enterprising spirit and the importance of the Slavonic prince, and sought to make him a friend by generous treatment. Such a near neighbor, at the head of a great Moravian kingdom, could be a dangerous foe or a serviceable friend to the Germans. With these views, Arnulf, in 890, had formed friendly connections with him, and invested him at Worms with the dukedom of Bohemia. The Bohemians had been, since 873, close allies of Swatopluk and the Moravians, and Bohemia only nominally subject to the German king. Swatopluk, who was in possession of Bohemia, had engaged in 874 at Forchheim to pay an annual tribute. This tribute was now removed by the feudal investiture in the year 890.

But Swatopluk looked more to the greatness and independence of his country than to gratitude towards the German king. He annexed to his Moravian kingdom tribes and districts which had been previously under the sway of the Germans, partly under the name of allies, partly under a plea of protection, partly by conquest. In the north, the great Slave empire which Swatopluk meditated, and which was the hope of all the Slaves, had taken in the Sorbs, or Sorabians, and other petty Slavonic tribes in the Erzgebirge; in the south it had subjugated the most of the Pannonian districts which had previously belonged to the German crown. From the Morawa to Gran in Hungary, northwest to the Elbe and Eger, Moravia, the kingdom of Swatopluk extended, a kingdom which he resolved to make independent.

ARNULF STORMS THE TRENCHES OF THE NORMANS ON THE DYLE.

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TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.**

It is evident from this position of affairs that a collision between the Moravian and German kingdoms was inevitable. Swatopluk suddenly broke off all intercourse with the German king, and refused to admit his ambassadors. Prudence ordered the German to humble, if not destroy, such a neighbor and such a defiant vassal. The war began in 891; but as Arnulf was then fighting the Northmen, nothing of importance took place. Attempts to restore peace failed, and the king of Germany got into a wrong groove; he excited the Magyars to invade the realm of Swatopluk; he made for the back of the Moravians a rod which in after days drew the blood of Germany.

The Magyars were the most celebrated of a number of warlike hordes formed from the relics of the Huns and Avars and other tribes of Finnish origin. From this one tribe the whole people took the name of Magyars; the Slaves called them Ugri; the Latin writers, Hunnugari, whence Hungary. They had come from the Ural Mountains into the regions between the Dnieper, the Don, and the Wolga, and had thence advanced under their prince Arpad to the Middle Danube, to the present Moldavia, Ukraine, and Bessarabia. The Greek emperor Leo VI., in 889, employed their arms against the Bulgarians. They defeated the Bulgarians; the fame of their valor spread to Germany; Arnulf imitated the Greek emperor; he employed the Magyars in his war against Swatopluk, and opened to them the Carpathians.

In July, 892, the German king invaded the Moravian kingdom with two armies, and the Magyars, in concert with him, attacked it in the rear. Thus beset by three superior armies, Swatopluk could not keep the field; he abandoned the level country, and shut himself up in his fortresses; he calculated that the destruction of the growing crops would compel the enemy to retire for want of provisions. He was right; after horrible devastations, the Magyars and Germans were compelled by famine to evacuate Moravia in a few weeks. The founder of the Moravian kingdom remained unconquered, but the repeated devastation of the country by inroads of Germans and Magyars broke his heart; he died in the autumn of 894, and the kingdom he had founded went to pieces at his grave, not so much from the attacks of the Magyars as from the false policy of the deceased king. He had divided his dominions among his three sons, just as Lewis the Pious had divided his empire; he ordered the younger sons and their independent kingdoms to be subordinate to the first-born, Moimir II., and the natural results followed—dissension in the family ending in civil war. Each brother wished to be the sole ruler, and sought to subjugate and destroy his brothers. Weakened by fraternal strife, the kingdom of Great Moravia founded by Swatopluk was easily overthrown by the Magyars.

When the Magyars returned from their Moravian campaign, they found a great change in their old abodes. The Magyars who had been left as a guard at home had been expelled by the Petschenegs, a Turkish tribe, and by the Bulgarians, and had taken refuge in the valleys of Transylvania. The name Szekler, or fugitives, still borne by the Hungarians of Transylvania, bear witness to the fact. The Magyars who returned from Moravia fought long against the united Bulgarians and Petschenegs, in hopes of winning back the countries of Moldavia, the Ukraine, and Bessarabia.

But their old enemies were too powerful, and the Magyars turned back to Pannonia, where the beauty and fertility of the country had charmed them during their campaign against Swatopluk; and as this hero was now dead, they took possession, in the year 894, of the greatest part of Moravian Pannonia. The Magyars reduced Swatopluk's sons to such straits that they sued for peace from Arnulf in the year 895. He granted it. During the struggle between the sons of Swatopluk, the Bohemians, the Sorabians, and other Slavonic tribes, were reunited to the German kingdom, to which they had belonged before the rise of the Moravian kingdom.

Arnulf attempted to induce the Moravian princes to leave their disputes to his arbitration; but Moimir II. refused, perceiving that Arnulf was looking for an acknowledgment of German supremacy, and also being victorious over his brothers.

Arnulf was by this time invested with the imperial dignity, but he had been in feeble health for three years.

During the war in the east, the struggle in Italy between the parties of Berengar and Guido was renewed, and Guido had been crowned as Roman emperor. He died during a second journey of the German king to Rome, which was then the centre of Guido's party. Pope Formosus had, during the life of Guido, crowned his son Lambert as his partner in the empire, but when Arnulf appeared in Italy with his force, the Pope acknowledged him as the true emperor. The widow of Guido was the leader of the party in Rome, and exercised great pressure on the Pope. Mocking speeches from the walls of Rome so provoked Arnulf's Germans that they gave the assault without orders, and took the walls and gates. Arnulf was saluted as

emperor by Pope Formosus, and solemnly crowned and anointed on the 22d of February, 896.

Arnulf left Italy in the flush of victory and the splendor of the imperial title, but death was in his veins. His father Carloman had met death in Italy. The sickness of the Emperor Arnulf was ascribed to poison, administered by Guido's widow, which slowly sapped his strength, and finally caused his death. The Emperor Arnulf succumbed to his sickness in December, 899, the only emperor since Charles the Great who gave any proof of having his blood in his veins, and the last of the Carolingians who actually governed.

In Arnulf's life-time, two years before his death, the grandees of the empire had proclaimed his son Lewis (Ludwig) as the successor of his father. This early election was intended to give security to the kingdom against any party intrigues. The Germans wished to be under Arnulf's house, and hoped that, under the eyes of his noble father, the son would become like him—a head of the realm, such as it needed. The early and unexpected death of Arnulf left a child of six years in place of a man and a soldier; and, in spite of the previous election, there was shown anxiety whether, in such dangerous times, the defence of the realm could be confided to the hand or name of a child. The matter was, a second time, discussed by the nobles, and Hatto, Archbishop of Mainz, and Otto Duke of Saxony, spoke warmly in the assembly for the young son of the deceased emperor. Hatto and Otto had been Arnulf's friends and councillors. Otto is the one known in Saxon history as the Illustrious—a name given in later ages because he was a prince “as energetic as wise and gentle” in the government of the Saxon districts confided to him. These two men successfully resisted any change in the election of Lewis.

They were, however, acting for themselves as much as for the emperor's little son. Hatto entered upon the government of the German kingdom under the name of “Lewis the Child,” and Otto was enabled to extend his dominion almost to independence.

The other great officials and great feudatories were also in the majority for abiding by the election of Lewis, not merely because he was Arnulf's offspring, and his election had been legally carried out, but perhaps because they hoped to gain great advantages for themselves under the regency of Archbishop Hatto and Duke Otto. In France, among the West Franks, the high officers of the crown and the occupiers of royal fiefs had extorted from Charles the Bald a grant that their charges and fiefs were legally hereditary. In order to retain the imperial crown and Italy, Charles had, at the diet of Kiersey, purchased by this concession the support which his nobles would otherwise have refused. The aristocracy of Germany struggled for a like privilege, and while the temporal nobility looked to making hereditary their offices and fiefs, the spiritual princes sought, more rapaciously and more cautiously, to increase their power at the cost of the crown. Grown already great enough at the expense of the crown, to the great damage of the commonalty of the nation, the aristocracy, clerical and lay, now improved the opportunity to obtain a full preponderance over the crown, and to oppress the free commons.



The time for this seemed to have arrived when there was a child-king of Germany, and when the regency of the kingdom was in the hands of the most conspicuous leader of the spiritual aristocracy. The child-king could not protect his own rights or those of the crown, and they did not yet know the archbishop.

His nominal reign—for Lewis never attained power—fell in a time of trouble and turmoil. The first storm burst from the Magyars. The news of Arnulf's death was the signal for them to invade his German territories. Their attention had been attracted to Germany seven years before by Arnulf himself; but without that, it would not have escaped their eye. Germany and the way to Germany would soon be found by a conquering people. They marched out from Pannonia. They had extinguished there the German as well as the Moravian rule; they had swept over the plain of Lombardy and surrounded their name with terror; and very soon, not mere reports and legends told of them in Germany, but their deeds.

In the year 900 they unexpectedly invaded the Eastern March, the present Austria, and ravaged with fire and sword as far as Bavaria. Report described them as low in stature, with heads close shaven, yellow complexion, deep-set, small, glittering eyes, and made them seem something not human, something fiendish. They devoured, men said, raw flesh; they were beasts, not human beings; they drank the heart's blood of their enemies; they made their tables and seats out of corpses, and there held their banquet, which consisted of their foes roasted alive. In fact, they were a free, war-like people, hardy, patient of labor, heat and cold, despising splendor and luxury, indifferent to the absence of the merest necessities, proud, impetuous, loving honor, cheerful but reserved, of a slight, tall figure, with nervous, well-knit limbs, and the face of Southern rather than of Northern Asiatics. They fought, for the most part, on horseback, and advanced and retired with the speed of lightning; their arrows, shot from bows of horn, seldom missed the mark; they carried also sword and lance, and armor of iron and thick felt protected them against thrust or stroke.

As soon as Arnulf's death was known, the Magyars sent ambassadors to Ratisbon, where he usually had held his court, and where the court of Lewis the Child was held. A proposition for peace and friendship with the new king of the Germans, had given them a pretext for spying out the interior of the land. Immediately on their return home, one portion of the Magyars mounted their horses, another set out on foot. They passed the Enns. The Christian churches and convents outside of the cities vanished before them; the walled cities were too strong for them—the art of siege was strange to them. Peasants and monks, terror-stricken, took refuge behind the walls of the towns. The Magyars began to retrace their steps laden with booty; their rear was attacked on the Danube by Leopold (Luitpold), duke of Bavaria, and the bishop of Passau, not without considerable loss to the Germans; the Magyars, according to trustworthy accounts, lost, at the highest, twelve hundred men, who were purposely exaggerated into twelve thousand.

Why was not the levy of all the forces of the German empire summoned to prevent the terrible devastations of these strangers? Apart from other reasons which will be

seen to have existed in the whole constitution of the empire, the reasons were, first, that Lewis was a child; secondly, Hatto, the regent, cared less for the external protection of the country than for internal objects; thirdly, that the grandees of Germany were actuated by self-interest instead of patriotism.

Hatto was not a man likely, because he was an archbishop, to further the designs of the clerical, not to mention the lay aristocracy; under his archiepiscopal robes, he was not the man of the Church but the man of the German crown, a patriot without any class interest to serve, whether of the nobles or the clergy; a man who understood the times and desired a strong government; a determined opponent of all who sought, in the midst of dangers threatening the country from without, to weaken the power of the crown and its ability to defend the realm, and to exalt themselves at its expense. He was not an aristocrat by birth, but a man of the people, and therefore saw more clearly that nothing, for a whole century past, had injured the crown and the realm so much as the self-seeking aristocracy.

Hatto was born in the land of the Alemanni, probably in Upper Swabia; his parents are not named, and as the monkish chroniclers never omit to trace the noble descent of clerical statesmen, we may conclude that Archbishop Hatto was the son of some citizen or farmer, or of obscure origin. His talents admitted him to the ecclesiastical state, and he became abbot of Reichenau, the fertile island so charmingly situated in the lake of Constance, in his Upper Swabian home.

No one was dearer to King Arnulf; he was called the "King's heart" from the time when the king raised him to the see of Mainz, the first episcopal see of Germany, in the year 891. From that time forth, he labored to make the German government a strong one, to make the grandees respect the crown, and to bring them back to their duty.

In the region lying between the present countries of Würtemberg and Thuringia as far as the southeastern portions of the latter, a noble Frank family had been engaged in enterprises which promoted the separate interests of the house, and finally assumed a position not by the side of the throne, but against the throne.

This was the house of Babenberg. Count Henry, who had fallen, as the general of the Emperor Charles the Fat, in the fight with the Northmen before Paris, was not the founder of the house, but of its brilliant position. The castle of Babenberg lay in the vicinity of the modern city of Bamberg, which derives its name from it. This general of Charles the Fat, Count Henry of Babenberg, had a brother, Poppo, who was made, by the Emperor Charles the Fat, margrave of the Thuringian and Sorabian countries. Count Henry of Babenberg left three sons, Adalbert, Henry, and Adalhard.

This great family sought to extend itself to the North and South. Bishop Arno of Würzburg had been murdered in a campaign against the Sorabians in the year 892. The Babenbergers had not supported him, either on purpose, or from neglect of their duty. The judicial investigation proved that Poppo was not free from blame in the destruction of this loyal prince of the Church and empire; and King Arnulf and his minister Archbishop Hatto, degraded Poppo from his margraviate. Count Conrad of

Fritzlar and Wetterau was appointed by Arnulf margrave of Thuringia and Sorabia. The new margrave was of an old, rich family of the Salian Franks, and married to Arnulf's daughter Gismunda. The Salian Franks then occupied the whole territory of the middle Main, Wetterau, Nassau, Hesse, Worms, Speyer, and most of the modern grand-duchy of Baden. Between this Salian house and the house of Babenberg there was from henceforth a death-struggle, especially as Conrad's younger brother Rudolf was elevated by Arnulf to the vacant see of Würzburg.

The enmity broke out into open feud on the death of the emperor. On the side of Poppo were his nephews, the sons of Count Henry, Adalbert, Henry and Adalhard, who waged a bloody war against the Salian Conrad, Ebenhard and Rudolf the bishop of Würzburg. Beginning in 902, the feud of the Babenbergers filled Franconia for four years with blood and robbery. Most of the members of these two noble houses perished. Towards the close of this frightful war between two Frank noble houses, the Margrave Conrad himself fell. Adalbert was the only one of the Babenbergers then left alive. He continued by himself the bloody strife, and despised the warnings of the regent. He was summoned in the name of King Lewis before a diet of the kingdom, and as he did not appear, was declared under the ban of the kingdom. The Regent Hatto ordered him to be besieged in his strong castle of Theresburg on the Main, above Schweinfurt, five leagues from Bamberg. Under the pretence of negotiations for reconciliation, Hatto is said, according to a popular tradition, to have cunningly enticed him out of his fortress, and thus got him in his power. Other clerical dignitaries are said to have aided in the stratagem. Adalbert was brought before the diet at Friburg, condemned to death as a traitor, and beheaded in execution of the sentence. His mother and his young son Adalbert II. fled to Otto, duke of Saxony. The extensive possessions of the house of Babenberg were confiscated, and the house of the Salian Conrad invested with the greatest part of them. His son Conrad was made margrave of East Franconia. After the death of Hatto there arose in the party of the Babenbergers a legend that "the devil slew him for his treachery to Adalbert, and threw him into the mouth of Etna."

This long and bloody feud of the Babenbergers was going on during the continued inroads of the Magyars, who returned after short intervals, not with the whole forces of the nation, but in numerous flying hordes; not under the personal commands of their Duke Arpad, but under other fortunate leaders. It was then the confusion produced by the family of Babenberg which is to be blamed for the neglect to protect the frontiers, and to support the ally of Germany, the prince of Moravia. Moimir II. fell in battle, and the last fragments of the Moravian power became the conquest of the Magyars. This laid Bavaria open. This gallant nation, the protectors of Germany against the Magyars after the destruction of the Moravian power, was left to its own resources, and became an exercise ground for the Magyars. Margrave Leopold, the ancestor of the house of Wittelsbach, to whom the Emperor Arnulf had confided the wardenship of this border, a connection by the female side of the house of Charles the Great, repulsed the first horde of plunderers in 895, and when, in the

year 907, the Magyars buried their great Duke Arpad at the source of a streamlet near Budwar, the Germans believed that the power and conquering spirit of the Magyars were broken.

But in the same year they entered the country with an army greater than ever before. Leopold summoned his whole Bavarian levies; but his soldiers were attacked before they had formed a line of battle, before the different detachments were united, and the Magyar style of fighting was as strange as perilous to the Germans. A very large portion of the Bavarian nobility, many bishops and abbots who had taken up the battle-mace and donned armor, Theodomar, archbishop of Salzburg, Bishop Udo of Freisingen, and Zachary, bishop of Seben, with a crowd of common men, perished. Leopold himself fell in the battle. This completed the defeat, and the

victorious hordes overflowed the greatest part of the Eastern March as far as the Enns and Carinthia. The Germans held out behind the Enns, and in the Carinthian Alps. The Bavarians made as their duke in place of the slain Leopold, his son Arnulf. Arnulf had to purchase by payment of tribute the retreat of the Magyars, and thus gained a short respite in which the country could recover.

In the following years Bavaria was spared by the Magyars; but Thuringia, Franconia, and most of all Alemannia were ravaged by them. In the year 910, King Lewis passed his seventeenth year. He saw with anguish and wrath the misery of his people, the farms and villages deserted before the march of the Magyars, the fields untilled, the inhabitants of cities and castles shut up within their walls, exposed to every privation, churches and convents destroyed or plundered, cattle driven off, thousands of children and men, thousands of women and maidens tied together by their back hair, and driven, like oxen, into slavery in Hungary. Lewis threatened with the halter the cowards who should disobey his summons. He thus collected a numerous army, but there were many in it whom fear of punishment had brought

to the standards, for long ill-fortune had filled them with a terror of the Magyars. One hot summer morning as the dawn was breaking, the Germans were attacked by the united forces of the Magyars. They allowed themselves to be deceived by the feigned flight of the Magyars, and drawn into an ambush. The battle became a total defeat, not far from the mouth of the Lech, at Lechtgemünd near Donauwörth.

King Lewis knew no other means of delivering the countries exposed to the ravages of the conquerors, and of inducing the victorious Magyars to retreat, than the payment of large sums of money to the hostile leaders, and the promise of an annual tribute. But this misfortune and this disgrace broke the young king's heart. He died in the year 911—it is uncertain whether on the 20th of August or the 24th of September—the last male descendant of the stock of the Great Charles on German soil.

We now proceed to a brief description of the religion and customs, the education, jurisprudence, and political constitution of the Germans, the changes, therein and the results thereof in the development of the nation and the empire in the following centuries.

## CHAPTER X.

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### PRIMITIVE RELIGION OF THE GERMANS—THEIR CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY.

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IN the course of the thousand years of German history just told, great changes took place in the circumstances, the life and the belief of the German people, in their customs, liberties and constitution. Let us now see what their original condition was, and what it became in the lapse of time.

It was not capacity for arms alone which made the German nations the conquerors of the old world, but the religious strength they possessed in combination with their military capacity. The heathenism of the old Germans was stronger, point of view, not only than the heathenism of Rome at the downfall, but also than the Christianity of Constantinople.

Even the religion of the Germanic nations, like that of the Greeks, grew up

from erroneous impressions respecting it have been diffused by the notion that the contents of the two Eddas, the collections of the sagas of the North concerning gods and heroes, represent the primitive religion of the German peoples. A great Greek writer has said of his country that the gods of Greece were creations of the poets; and a similar statement is true of the religion of the Germans.

The earliest information extant about the ancient German religion is that of Julius Cæsar. He briefly writes, "The Germans venerate as

gods, the sun, the moon and the fire. They regard as gods those only whom they see, and by whose powers they are benefited." A century later Tacitus says of the same Germans: "By the name of gods they designate that abstract existence which they contemplate simply with a reverent mind" without temples or images; and from a comparison of this statement with that of Cæsar, we must conclude either that a very rapid change, a great advance had taken place among the Germans in a century and a half, which is not to be thought of, or that Tacitus either had better informed authorities for his testimony, or had made more thorough investiga-

tions into the old German religion than Cæsar. Tacitus adds, "The Germans deem it unbecoming to confine the divine being within walls."

A perfect uniformity of religious belief and divine worship does not seem to have existed among all the tribes. Those who dwelt on the frontiers cannot have escaped the influences of the old Greek and old Roman religions, and these influences must have acted powerfully on the numerous bodies of Germans who served as mercenaries or auxiliaries in the Roman armies outside of German territory, and who returned home only after long years of absence.

We must also distinguish between what was the original religion and what poetic fancy made of it in later days; and between the belief of the educated and the religion of the people. We make such distinctions in the religions of India, Egypt, Greece and Rome, and must do so in that of the ancient Germans. In the first-mentioned nations, as is now universally allowed, there existed behind and beside the popular religion and the external ceremonies of worship, a secret doctrine, a faith of the wise, which in the sacred customs and rites preserved the thought which they were intended to represent, and which in the *Symbol* recognized the *Idea*. Something similar, although not to the same extent as among the Greeks, took place among the ancient Germans.

The ancient Germans never showed themselves dominated by their mythology, that is, by the later legendary fictions of gods and heroes. Each man accepted what he liked therefrom; there was no compulsion to believe; they were in this respect like the ancient Greeks. It was sufficient not to attack or ridicule the religion of the people. The religious legends and poetry, the mythology of the Germans, never penetrated, but only ran parallel to their course of thought; it never became the *substratum* of ancient German life. Such a *substratum* was religious feeling. The Germans were religious, deeply inwardly religious, but not slaves of an external dogma, not in bondage to the letter of this or that lay which sang of gods and heroes, still less of this or that line in such a lay. For the religion of the old Germans was consigned to "lays."

Hence it came that the ancient Germans never had what is called a priesthood, a priestly caste, and consequently they never had any priestly dominion, although they had priests among them. "They have neither Druids like the Gauls, nor any special service for their sacrifices," is the observation of Cæsar. In this respect they resemble the Greeks and the professors of the oldest religion in Greece, the ancient Pelasgi.

Just as in Greece, neither a priestly dominion nor a priesthood struck root in German soil, neither in the German south nor in the German north. Hence there was no system of theology or of religion.

We cannot understand the war waged for upwards of thirty years between Charles the Great and the Saxons, without the key that a religion without a priest was engaged in a long, bitter, life-and-death struggle against priestly dominion—that popular liberty was fighting for existence against despotism in church and state.

Even in the stages of development through which the belief and worship of the

ancient Germans passed, the Greeks and they have much alike. Clear indications point to the fact that the original religion in Greece was the veneration of ONE GOD. The division of the one Divine Being into many gods came later. The consciousness of the one Divine Being never quite died away in Greece; it appears with the utmost clearness in the most flourishing period of Athens in all her great men—in her poets and sages, in her statesmen and orators. Among the ancient Pelasgi there existed a simple religion of nature which venerated Heaven and Earth, Sun and Moon; and although the Creator of heaven and earth was soon obscured by the deification of the Heaven and the Earth, that is, of the creature, yet there soon appeared out of this obscurity, and high above it, Zeus, “the King of kings, the most holy of the holy ones, the most perfect of all perfections,” the Being “who rules the world, heaven and earth, gods and men,” the “Father of men and gods.” The deified powers of Nature, all the gods, are subject to his will; he stands free above them all; he the ONE. Homer simply styles the Supreme Being, “the Godhead, the Wise”; Plutarch quotes as a very old saying, “Zeus, the beginning; Zeus, the end; all things by Zeus”; Sophocles the poet sang, “One in verity, one is God, who has made the heaven and the earth”; and the philosopher Antisthenes said, “The gods of the people are many, but there is naturally only one God.”

In like manner, the religion of the old Germans was originally the veneration of one invisible God, and even in the later obscurity vesting this tenet, it remembered still its eastern home and the religion of the Arian race to which the Germanic nations belong. Even in the Edda, the original veneration of only one God shines out clear and sunbright amid the many gods into which the oldest religious truth was in later times split up. “Over the universe,” says the Edda, “presides the unseen, unchanging creator of the world, Allfather. From him later came forth a race of gods, the twelve Asen (Æsir).” This is nothing else than a mode of saying that in the course of time the view of the different modes of the activity of the ruler of the universe developed itself into the view that they proceeded from different beings, and that the attributes of God were made into persons. “The Allfather alone is eternal,” says the Edda; “even the highest and first of the twelve Asen (Æsir) will pass away like the visible world.”

In the Greek religion, the active attributes of the one God were distributed by the oldest Greek poets to many persons, and the One Divine power working in nature was converted into a multiplicity of divine powers, to which the fancy of poets gave *personality* and *form*. And because the Divine power displays itself in nature with such infinite multiplicity, and the powers of imagination cannot find one fit image for the infinite spirit, the youthful fancy of the Greeks clothed the Supreme Being with a multiplicity of images. Under the image Ceres (Demeter), the people were grateful for the products of their corn-fields; of Bacchus, for the wine which gladdens man's heart. The first wife of Zeus is Metis, or Wisdom; the fruit of this union is Athené, the divine thought “which springs full-armed from the head of Zeus.” The second wife of Zeus is Themis, or Justice; her daughters are the Hours and the Fates



(Moirai, Parcae). The Hours are named Eunomia, or Good Order, Diké or Right, and Irené, or Peace; and the meaning of the myth is: The will of the Supreme God is the law for nature and for man; the hours, who are the law for the year and its seasons, are also the eternal rule of divine ordinance for the peaceful communion of mankind in the family and the state. The moral law and the law of nature come from God; and therefore the *Moirai*, the goddesses of destiny, are daughters of Zeus; their names are Atropos, the inflexible; Lachesis, destiny; and Clotho, the spinster. Thus did Greek fancy divide one united conception into three conceptions, and then consider these three conceptions as so many persons; the original conception being that of inflexible destiny which God the supreme spins for mankind.

The same phenomenon, the division of one conception into many, the transformation of conceptions into persons, is found in the religion of the ancient Germans. Only they were not such an artistic people as the Greeks. In turning Ideas into Persons, to gods and goddesses, they could not elaborate them into perfect beauty as the Greeks did by means of their poets, their sculptors, their painters. The world of gods and heroes among the ancient Germans had not the plastic beauty of the Greek mythology; but the old German Religion was superior to the Greek internally, in deep inwardness of the feeling soul. It was religion in the form of the *Romantic*.

To the Greek goddesses of destiny, the *Moirai*, the German *Nornen* (*Nornir*) correspond. They are named *Urd* (Weird, as in the "weird sisters" in *Macbeth*), the past; *Verdandi*, the present; *Skuld*, the future. They are not the originators of fate, but the ministers of the *Allfather*. *Allfather* is all-ruling Providence, the supreme power which, at the head of the universe, has from the beginning determined the destiny of all created things, even of the gods themselves. The *Norns* preserve, proclaim, execute the decrees of Providence. The race of the gods themselves is sub-

ject to the influence of the three Norns. Allfather, the father of gods and men, the one God, is the one who, like the Hellenic Zeus, orders destiny according to his everlasting laws. All destiny is of his dispensing; nothing happens without him; what he resolves, must happen. The fancy of later ages transferred to Odin, the highest god of the gods, the beliefs respecting the "Allfather." Odin is the all-pervading being; like the breath of the spirit, he pervades and rules life. Every emotion of the soul, in war as well as in peace, proceeds from him—courage, wisdom, poesy. He is not confined to one particular manifestation of activity; he embraces them all, and therein lies the difference between him and the other gods. They proceed from him like rays from the light; they represent in living individualization the particular sides of the fullness of his being; but he, in turn, gathers into himself the being of all the other gods. What each of the other gods is in his own circle, that Odin is everywhere, wherever life and spirit permeate the world.

In the later poetical development, Odin became only the highest of the inferior gods, the first of the twelve Asen or Æsir, and the Edda says of him, "This the highest of the Æsir shall pass away like the visible world." "Allfather will then make a new world, a new heaven and a new earth; he recalls from their sleep the good spirits, and hurls the bad into the dungeon of snakes, which is girt by streams of poison and is in the realms of Hela." The Edda here does not use the word Allfather; it says, "That strong one, who rules and is lord of all, whose name may not be uttered, will come forth from his abode on high, to allay all strife on earth, to decree and execute divine judgments; in the fairer and better world, created by him after this day of doom, there will be eternal peace; there the gods born again, and the race of mankind renewed, shall live together peacefully through all eternity, evil shall no longer be, the earth shall be free from the power of the evil one."

These and other passages of the Edda have been regarded as late interpolations by Christians. But not only the younger Edda, but, in indisputably genuine passages, the older Edda too, knows and venerates Allfather, the invisible creator of the universe. This original veneration of one God (Monotheism) is a portion brought by the German peoples from their ancient Arian home. Not a worship of nature, but the adoration of *one* God as Spirit is everywhere found in the oldest religions in the history of the world, as the light shimmering through the oldest sagas and legends, a light which only, by and by in the course of time, becomes obscured and darkened. First is Truth; then, secondly, Error. Not in demonstrations of the logical understanding, but in feeling, the belief in one God exhibits itself as the first principle in the religion of the Arian race. In the oldest of the holy books of India, in the Vedas, in the Laws of Menu, the faith in one God, a spiritual apprehension of religion, is retained, and fragments of these books go back to a time in which the rosy dawn of mankind is still glowing. At the same time, in other portions of the Indian scriptures, the faith has sunk down to Nature-worship and Polytheism. Yet even in the obscurity of the faith in later ages, Brahm, the Divine, pure Divinity, appears as the Soul of the World—as an eternal, all-embracing essence. Even in the wilds of the Far West, the

Red Indian, like his ancestors, smokes his pipe of peace, not to the sun, not to the moon, not to the waters or the winds, but to the Invisible, whom on his knees he adores, to the "Great Spirit," the Allfather.

Great German investigators, like Herder in his "Philosophy of History," and Karl Ritter in his "Introduction to European History," considering that this veneration of the One God is so clear in the old primæval religion of the Germans, and shines out distinctly through all later obscurities, through the sagas of gods and heroes, have ventured the conjecture that the original seats of the German peoples were not far removed from those of the Israelites. But James Grimm has with justice remarked that the coincidences of the Edda and the sacred documents of the Jews are too slight to permit the assumption of such a connection.

Moreover, the *physique* of the old Germans, a thing especially dependent on climate, was widely different from that of the Israelites, some of whose legends do not assign them an original abode in Asia, but make them come from the west of America by the north of Asia.

This legend does not exclude a long residence of this monotheistic nation in Asia, not far from the original seats of the Germans. But history knows nothing thereof. From traditions passing from mouth to mouth, and handed down for centuries, the Lombard historian Paul Warnefrid and the Norman Dudo state that the religion of the Northern as well as of the Southern German nations came from the Arian East.

To judge by the previously quoted testimony of the Roman Tacitus, the Germans in his time, that is, at the conclusion of the first century after Christ, were still at the stage when belief in one God exists only in the feelings, where men feel God as an invisible, mysterious spiritual power.

But in one chief point of religious faith, in the conception of the continuance of the human soul, the ancient Germans far surpassed the chosen people of Jehovah. The doctrine of immortality, the living conviction of *personal* continuance after death, is clearly impressed on old German religion. This bright portion of religion, in which the Northern and Southern German peoples had such firm faith, could not have been learnt from the professors of the Old Testament, for in this point they are far behind, nor could it have penetrated from Christianity into the old German religion, since authoritative Roman evidence tells us that the doctrine existed among the Germans before Christianity. The Roman poet Lucan, the nephew of the philosopher Seneca, who died in the year 65 A.D., says in his poem "Pharsalia," in which he depicts the civil war between Pompey and Cæsar, that the German legions under Cæsar's standards give him the victory, "inspired by a delusion, by their belief in the personal continuance of the human soul." Although Lucan, in his philosophy, differing in this respect from his uncle Seneca, considered the belief of personal continuance after death to be a delusion, yet he deemed these children of the Northland happy in their delusion, for it taught them to despise death; it made them brave, it fostered heroes.

The belief in personal immortality, then, existed among the ancient Germans, as a

tenet of the popular creed, for centuries before Christianity with its doctrines came into contact with German peoples by its approach to their frontiers, and before the fancy of Germanic poets had painted, in the verses of the elder and in the prose of the younger Edda, the conditions of life in another world.

What we learn from the Edda respecting the doctrine of immortality among the ancient Germans, belongs to these later poetical representations, not to the original belief.

When oppression from without threatens a nation, the religious element of the people exalts itself, and is also artificially exalted by those who possess influence on it, be they priests, or be they, in the absence of priests, statesmen, poets, orators, writers. Especially in the struggle of an ancient religion, of ancestral faith, with a new intrusive religion, with enemies who bring destruction to civil freedom as well as to freedom of conscience, the previous belief of a people rises up obedient to impulses communicated from its priests or poets, impulses the effect of which is more lasting the more the people is moved in its deepest heart in such days and times.

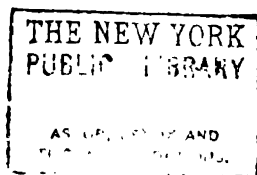
The old Nature-religion of the Germanic peoples was driven back to the territory of the Saxons, and gave way before the Christian Cross, which the conquering sword of the Franks had made the dominant faith on German soil. Although the Franks were Christian in show rather than in heart, although in most families much of the old faith coexisted with the new, yet Christianity was, as a church, dominant in their empire; the temporal head of the Franks obeyed the commands of the Church, and at her every bidding thousands of Franks were set in motion sword in hand. When not liberty but ancestral religion inherited from their fathers sank and died away on the battlefields of Saxony, the Nature-religion took refuge on the northern islands, nay, even in Iceland. Here first the poetic imagination of the north completed the changes respecting the original worship of the one God which had been begun centuries before in Germany. The world of gods proceeding from the Allfather was completely divided into an ever-increasing number of superior and inferior deities of male and female sex; and what had been told on the continent in the sagas and songs of gods and heroes, in a simple, historical, human, unadorned fashion, became in these northern islands exaggerated and discolored, here and there fanciful, often monstrous. A soil and sky which, though rude, were mild by comparison with the sky and soil of the far north, worked on the imaginations of the Germans in a different way from that in which the Scandinavians were affected by the rude nature of the north with its scanty signs of life, its lofty icebergs, its wide ice-fields, its Northern Lights, its mists, its long night, its adventurous voyages, its isolation.

The latest researches of James and William Grimm, Simrock, Uhland and others agree in this: "The material and ground-work of both Eddas came from Germany to Scandinavia, most likely in lays resembling the Norse lays in form; the sagas of the gods were originally the common property of the Germans and Scandinavians, but received in the northern homes of the latter their local coloring and peculiar mould; the sagas of the heroes clearly exhibit their German origin, and are connected with

Germany by the leading characters appearing in them, and by the localities where the events took place. The North received from our forefathers, the South Teutons, what it returns to us." Respecting the myths of the younger Edda, Grimm's judgment is that "they have come down to us in a purer and more original form than the Greek legends."

It is the younger Edda which preserves for us the ideas of our German ancestors respecting the places and the circumstances in which the human soul after death lives and moves. Their idea of immortality was as follows: "Asgard is the great city of the gods with magnificent gardens in the middle of the world. This city of the gods towers high above all else, and the divine powers, the (Asen) Æsir, sit enthroned in

its verdure. In Aagard (Aysgarth) or the garden of the gods is Walhalla, the hall of heroes, with five hundred and forty doors; thither come all the chosen champions, the valiant freemen who from the beginning of the world have fallen gloriously on the battle-field, or in war in general. Odin built this hall; it is of gold; spear-shafts are its pillars, shields its roof, shirts o. mail are spread over its seats. Before the hall rises the golden grove whose trees bear golden leaves. It is "a maid of Odin who forcibly, out of love, carries off the hero that finds in battle an early death"; the Valkyrjor or Walküren, the Maidens of the Fight, are sent from Walhalla to every battle to receive the falling heroes and bring them to the halls of the heroes, where the heroes with Odin and the heavenly ones sit at table. The love of battle is gratified in Walhalla by daily fights. Each morning the heroes take their arms, go to the courtyard and engage in combat. This is their pastime. When the time of dinner





comes, they ride back to Walhalla, and sit down at the festive board, as the lay (the *Valthrudnismal*, stanza 41,) says, "The Einheriar all in Odin's hall fight day by day; when the slain are chosen, they ride back from the fray, and drink ale with the *Æsir* (*Asen*); then sit they together in peace." So says the younger Edda. "Few know," it continues, "what the Einheriar eat in Walhalla; it is the best of flesh, the flesh of the boar *Sæhrimnir*, who every day is slain and sodden, and every evening is whole and sound." Now the Einheriar are the heroes in battle whom Odin takes to be his children.

Odin himself needs no food, "for 'tis with wine only that Odin famed in arms is nourished for age"; the other gods and heroes drink mead or ale. At the banquet, the singer with the harp is present and sings the deeds of the day, while the *Valkyrjar* fill up and hand the drinking horn to the heroes.

Such is the saga of Walhalla, of the life of the heroes after death; it is merely a continuation of their life on earth. They who made this other life such a life of the senses, powerfully affected the national disposition, and made the people by their belief therein still more valiant, still more defiant of death. Such was the faith of the Germans on the Lippe and the Elbe, in the *Erzgebirge* and in *Friesland*, on the upper and middle Danube as well as in Sweden and Norway, a faith retained long after Christianity had become established among the Franks, and by their means in middle Europe. This faith was retained, because such a life after death, the sensual poetry of such an existence pleased their inborn love of combat more than what the priests of the Roman church, such as they were on the average, taught of life on earth and in heaven.

Yet this was only the religion of the people; for the more educated, not only for the initiated as among the Greeks, there lay behind this mythology, behind this imagery of northern poetry-run-wild, a sense and a meaning which can be found on closer examination in the Edda as easily as in Grecian mythology. Thus, according to Grimm and Simrock, the boar *Sæhrimnir* is the Sun; under the image of the boar daily sodden and yet at evening uninjured, is represented the light of day; the ale "from the udders of the goat *Heidrun*, which flows so abundantly every day that all the heroes in Walhalla have enough to drink therefrom," is the clear "stream of Ether, the stream of Light rendered sensible, which is the spring of eternal life to the immortal souls after death."

The younger Edda speaks of more heavens than one. It is said therein, "There is a building which is named *Himinbjorg* (*Heavensburg*), it stands at the end of heaven; there is, too, the stead of Odin called *Valaskjalf*, which was builded by the gods and roofed with silver. In this hall is the high-seat, and when Allfather sits on this throne, he can see over the whole world. On the southern edge of heaven is the homestead named *Gimli*, the most beautiful of all, and brighter than the sun. Towards the south there is another heaven above the first heaven, and again above this a third heaven, where now dwell the elves of light, fairer in face than the sun." This is the palace which shall abide when heaven and earth are burnt up, which all right-acting and good men of all ages shall enter.



No one who is a coward, or has had the misfortune to die of old age or sickness, can come to Walhalla. Brave servants can, but even there they must still remain the servants of the heroes; they may not eat and drink with the gods, but prepare their own meals.

Cowards and evil-doers come to places of terror, to Nifelheim, to the world of clouds which is opposed to the world of light, the subterranean realm of Hel (Hell) covered with eternal night, cold as ice. Hel is the daughter of Loki, a revolted deity, the insulter of the gods, the causer of all mischief, whom some call "the disgrace of gods and men." Allfather hurled "Hel down to Nifelheim, and gave her power over nine worlds, to assign fitting dwellings to those who should be sent to her. Her hall is called Misery, Hunger is her table, Greed her knife, Delay her man, Slowness her maid, Precipice her threshold, Care her bed, Burning Anguish the hangings of her hall. Half of her body is lividly black, half the color of human flesh; she may therefore easily be recognized."

"Assassins, perjurers, and other grievous ill-doers come to Nifelheim to a hall which is wattled together with serpents' backs; the serpents' heads are turned to the inside of the hall, and continually spew forth poison." Another place of torment for sinners lies in Nifelheim, the Water-hall, wherein streams of mud and filth whirl down sharp swords, through which the transgressors have to wade.

All those who have not rendered themselves fit to enter Walhalla by heroism and equally prized virtues, all who die of old age or sickness, come, not into the above described places of torment, but to other abodes in Nifelheim, the nebulous world of cloud. But they do not abide forever in the cloud-world, but, so far as they have been good and right-doers, they enter heaven at the appointed time; the younger Edda expressly says of the eternal home of light, Gimli, "all good and right-doing men of all ages shall dwell there and enjoy honor without end." As all the Germanic peoples paid the highest honors to women, it is certain that they believed that good women entered heaven. It is expressly stated "that women and children enter the halls of the heavenly palace of Frigga."

It would take us too long to follow into detail the old Germanic religion as contained in the Icelandic Edda, the holy scriptures of northern poetry, and to describe all the gods and goddesses, with which poetic fancy adorned the belief of the Germanic peoples down to the period in which the lays of gods and heroes, so long handed down by tradition, were committed to writing and collected into the Edda; that is, down to the end of the tenth century.

But we have other authorities for the belief of our ancestors besides the Icelandic Eddas, which have buried the old legends beneath snow and glaciers as the fires of Hecla are buried. For the escape of the fruits which ripened in such a climate from the melancholy fate of the old lays of the Franks, from utter destruction by Catholic fanaticism, we have not to thank the clergy, but the poverty and remoteness of Iceland, which preserved from subjugation by the foreign spirit this the furthest corner of the world then known, and allowed only the existence of a native clergy.

These native clergy had not broken with the national feelings and modes of thought, and hastened to fix in writing, by the art learnt abroad, the noble old lays, the most precious thing their native country possessed. They were the cultivators of the popular tongue, and guardians of popular traditions, the founders of old northern literature.

These Christian preachers in Iceland were Arians, not priests and monks of the school of Rome.

The above-mentioned authorities for the proper German form of the old Teutonic belief, as it was on German ground properly so called, exist in the numerous popular legends and popular customs which came from the heathen days through the Middle Ages down to the period of the Reformation, and which can be still recognized in our days, living and deeply impressed in many usages, especially of Southern and Central Germany, as fragments of the old religion.

They are in contents and spirit allied to the Scandinavian saga-cycle, but the milder, gentler, more humane disposition of the Germans is plainly recognizable. These poetic remains of an ancient popular faith which have been preserved, unwritten, on the lips of the Southern Germans, which give life to things without life, people the desert, and lend to trees and springs sanctity and animation, show thousands of traits of a kindlier nature, and a cheerful, beautiful religious feeling. The *oaks* sacred from time immemorial; the lindens of magic power; the enchanted willows; the wooded mountain-peaks "crowned by popular presentiment with rings of spirits"; the *lakes* and springs where in the midday hour the fair *White Ladies* rise, bathe, sing, and vanish; the *Maidens* of the *Hills* and *Woods*, in blue apparel and white veil, who come to the pasture-grounds of the shepherds, take part in the dance with men, and whose song has such a mournful cadence; the *Fatal Sisters*, with the lots of fortune and of death, at the first and last hour of mortals, who endow

the infant in the cradle, and spin the threads of life; the *Nixes* who sit in the sun on the boughs of the trees by the rivers, combing with golden combs their long gold-yellow hair, and plunging back into the water at human approach; the ruddy *Morn* as the window of heaven from which God beholds the world; *Freya*, the goddess of beauty and of love, who loves the love-song, whom the love-sick invoke, and who enjoys the most widely extended worship of all the goddesses; *Frigga*, the wife of Odin (not to be confounded with Freya), whom the South Germans name *Hertha*, the guardian of the house and household, to whom dying women say, "I shall soon be feasting with Hertha, I want no more earthly food"; the *Fay* of the black rocks, whom no one sees without becoming healthy, wealthy and wise; the *Festivals* that welcome the spring and the winter, the summer offerings in thanksgiving for the crops, with fires kindled by night on plain and hill, and with gifts of fruits and flowery wreaths which maidens hang upon the trees—all speak of a religion which lives no longer in the faith of reason.

All these things still live, not merely in collections like those of the Grimms, but in the mouth of the people, less perhaps in Lower Germany than in Upper Germany. Many of these pieces of folk-lore were universal in Germany a few centuries ago, and the traces of them have nowhere entirely vanished. So strong, so enduring an impression on the heart and imagination of mankind is made by a popular religion when it finds expression in the beautiful form of poetry.

Among the goddesses, moreover, is *Sif*, who gives fertility to the earth, and *Iduna*, who guards the apple whose taste preserves the gods in eternal youth till the downfall of the world; she, the goddess of youth and immortality, is the wife of *Braga*, the god of poetry and eloquence. Braga is one of the sons of Odin, and we thus perceive clearly that these gods, male and female, are attributes of the god transformed into persons to express that from God the Lord proceed poetry and the gift of oratory; his union with Iduna is the personification of the beautiful thought that poetry and the gifts of language keep spiritually young those who refresh themselves thereby.

All the surrounding nations, especially the Romans and the Greeks, praised the chastity of the Germans in heart and home. This, too, had in the heathen religion its divine sanction and its incarnation in the attendants of Freya, the goddess of Love. These attendants are *Snotra*, the goddess of Modesty and Shamefacedness, and *Gefion*, the goddess of Innocence and Maidenhood.

The most widely revered of all the gods among the German tribes was the goddess *Ostara* or *Easter*, the goddess of Spring. Neither her name nor any lay respecting her occurs in the Edda, which does not contain all the sagas of the gods, and where we see, from the fragments quoted in it, that hundreds of lays of gods and heroes are lost forever. The country where the Edda was collected is a reason why no lay of the Spring-goddess has come down. In Iceland, a lonely island in the far north, two hundred leagues from Norway and fifty from Greenland, there is no spring. This island, surrounded by stormy, ice-covered seas, with its bare snow-mountains and immense glaciers, its volcanoes and fields of lava, with its almost total absence of

vegetation, was no country for the worship of the Spring-goddess Easter, and for her yearly festival *Easter-day*.

This Easter festival was so widely kept among the Germans living to the south of Denmark, that the Christian church found it for her interests not to abolish this feast but to unite it with the highest Christian feast, the Paschal festival. The Christian Passover was transferred to the heathen Easter-feast, the second of the three great feasts of the old Germanic religion, and the Church among the newly-converted Germans called the Paschal feast the feast of Easter. Even in the calendar the name of April became Easter-month, because in this the Passover fell as well as the great feast of the Spring-goddess Easter.

This old heathen Easter festival proves how the religion of our ancestors, at the introduction of Christianity into Germany, not only received from, but gave to the Christian church; and how prudently the Church left uninjured the old heathen customs to which the heart of the whole people clung, and changed gradually the import of usages sacred to the people.

*Easter Eggs*, which still in both Catholic and Protestant countries are gifts interchanged by young and old at Easter, came from the heathen symbolism of our fathers. The custom of Easter eggs has come from the heathens to the Christians; and the deeper symbolism of the old religion exhibits itself clearly in a practice which now delights every childish heart. The egg is the emblem of the germ, and our forefathers saw in it "a sign of the growth, of the gradual development and succession of things." The feast of the goddess Easter fell at the time of the vernal equinox, when the sun reaches the equator and the vegetable kingdom awakes to new life. Easter was the representative of the quickening spring-sun and the nourishing powers of nature. Her emblem, therefore, was first the egg, secondly the hare, the most prolific of the animal kingdom. Hence comes the "Easter-hare which lays the Easter eggs." Hence is the Easter fire which is kindled on Easter-day on the heights as a symbol of the sun. The summer solstice was also kept as a feast, with great fires kindled by night; these fires—called by the Church St. John's fires, after the conversion to Christianity—were emblems of the sun, the eye of Odin; and this heathen sacrifice of thanksgiving by bonfires continued through the whole middle age of Christendom. Even still in Upper Swabia and Bavaria, "St. John's fires" are lighted, and it is a custom for the lads to leap over the dying embers.

Ostara or Easter was especially worshipped in Saxony, and names of places—Osterholz, Osterfeld, Osterode in North Germany, Ostergard, Osterholm in Scandinavia, Osterhaus in Brabant, Osterhof in Bavaria, Osternhohe in Franconia—point to the universality of her worship. But as usual, the deeper meaning hidden in the poetic fictions, the spiritual import of the myth, did not descend to later generations, and was not transferred to the new religion, but only the external shell, the outward form, not the truth contained in the form of tradition. Especially is this the case with the inferior powers of nature when personified by heathen fancy.

It is remarkable and noteworthy for the origin of the Germanic nations, that the

doctrine of the Edda respecting the *creation* of the earth agrees with the doctrines taught in India; both declare that the earth was formed from the co-operation of fire and water; light and darkness, heat and cold, spirit and matter, were separated by the power of the Allfather, and the earth appeared by the conquest of the Giant Ymir and the Frost-giants. Poetic imagination which thus personified the first elementary power, personified also the powers of water, fire, air, and earth. In all these elements dwelt giants and giantesses, dwarfs, elves, spirits of the earth and water, some friendly, some hostile to mankind—light elves, the friends of man; water elves, at times friendly, at times unfriendly; Neckan (Nicker) and Nixes, the black elves of the waters, the black dwarfs of the rocks, enemies of the human race.

These powers of nature personified in the old Germanic mythology, partly were assigned by the German tribes when converted to Christianity to the kingdom of the devil, partly became spectres and ghosts, and survive still in superstitions which regard as actual beings these poetical conceptions.

Like the Greeks, the ancient Germans believed in special *guardian spirits*, which accompany each man from the cradle to the grave, appear to him in moments of peril, warn him, and send forebodings of the impending danger. They are represented as winged female figures. This belief, which has much beauty, reminds us of the "Christian angels appointed for the service of man."

The belief in *dwarfs*, which are conceived as small, powerful, sagacious spirits, did not, as was once said, come to Germany from acquaintance with Arabic fictions borrowed from the Saracens in Spain—it is a relic of old German heathenism. Poetry turned into persons the smaller activities of nature, especially the powers of nature which work in the bosom of the earth. Their dwelling is not on the earth, but in its interior, usually in the mountains, where they guard the metallic treasures. The

belief of the heathen saw in them beings ready to serve men as long as men were good towards them; and this belief survives in hundreds of popular tales of Southern Germany; it survived in the speech and in the heart of the people at the beginning of this century, and has not yet vanished from the mining districts.

It is very remarkable that the old German religion made no images of the gods till it was decaying. Even at that period only two images of gods are recorded, and late researches have shown that these graven images were Slavonic, not German. Reference to images of gods and goddesses among the Germans is made in only one place of Tacitus, and there indeed only to one image, that of Frigga or Hertha, Mother Earth, who in the Edda is called the wife of Odin-Frey, the lord god, of Odin whose eye is the sun. And the passage proves as little for an image as for an actual temple of the goddess.

Tacitus calls her Hertha—a common reading, Nertha, must be the error of a later transcriber—and in no place does he speak of an image of Mother Earth, but only of a chariot, and a belief that the goddess intervened in human affairs, and visited the people. He writes: "There is in an island of the ocean a holy grove, and a hallowed chariot therein covered with a mantle. The priest alone may touch it. He alone knows when the goddess is present in her shrine; and when she rides forth drawn by cows he attends with great awe. The days then are days of gladness; all places which she deigns to visit assume a festive garb. They commence no wars, they take up no arms; peace and quiet are known and welcomed only on these occasions, till the priest restores to her temple the goddess when she has had enough of mortal society. Then the chariot and the mantles, and, if you will believe it, the goddess herself, are bathed in a secret lake. Slaves perform this office, and are drowned in its waters. A mysterious terror and a pious ignorance prevails as to what that is which none see but those doomed to death."

Tacitus seems to speak of a temple; of an "image" washed in a lake, he does not even seem to speak. He has in an earlier portion of the same work remarked that the Germans believe it "unbefitting the grandeur of the heavenly beings, to make images of them, or to confine them in temple-walls." By the word "temple," then, he designates the resting-place of the consecrated car. The whole Edda, in harmony with this statement of the historian, knows no other abode of a god or goddess than the expanse of heaven. The whole old German mythology knows no dwelling of a god on the earth—no dwelling, that is, composed of wood or stone; it believes only that the god moves in nature, in the sighing as well as in the roaring of the tree-tops, in the rippling of the fountains.

The eastern point of Holstein, once quite separate from the continent, afterwards connected with the island of Fehmarn, is probably the island meant by Tacitus. The hallowed chariot was kept where afterwards stood the village of Sigger, near which was the lake, where the slaves, after their service rendered, were drowned in order that they might not betray what they had seen. The whole story has an impress of fable; it contradicts the whole spirit of the German character, especially the rela-

tion of the freeman to the serf or slave ; no such cold cruelty existed among the Gauls ; it was not German. [Hertha is a conjecture of Ritter ; the manuscripts of Tacitus have Nerthus, a Keltic word and pointing to a Keltic ceremony.—TRANS.]

Some writers assume that the heathen Germans had no temples or images because they had no artists to fashion their deities out of wood, stone or metal, no architects to build their temples. But this assumption is baseless. The rudest tribes, the tribes least susceptible of art, have images of their gods, blocks of wood or stone, and temples rudely, inartistically built. When the people of Israel in Solomon's days wished to build their temple, and had neither architects nor artists, they employed Phœnician artificers to complete the edifice ; and, if the whole nature of our forefathers had not been repugnant to making images of the gods, and to conceiving that the gods dwell in temples made with hands, they could easily in the centuries after Christ have had such works executed by Roman or Greek builders and sculptors who at that period were both settled in Germany and had frequent intercourse therewith. The most striking refutation of this assumption is that, while the Romans built temples to their deities in the midst of the German tribes allied with or tributary to them, yet no trace of any German temple can be found in all Southern Germany, although no Roman law forbade a people to build temples to its native gods. The reason why no temples of German gods are found, is that the Germans had no priestly caste. The old Greeks at their most flourishing period had no longer a priestly caste, and yet they built temples and hewed statues of their gods. But the Greeks were a people of Art, and therefore religion also became Art ; their temples were no priestly sanctuaries enclosing and concealing mysteries, but open, free, conspicuous halls where the people could behold the festive rites.

The love of freedom, the enjoyment of freedom, made the ancient Germans live as much as possible in the free presence of Nature. They celebrated their feasts on the meadows and under the trees of the forests, under the leafy roof, and amid the refreshing fragrance of the woods and flowers. When the Christian priests built their Christian churches for the German people on German soil, they sought to compensate it for its groves, its living temples, by imitating in stone the green arches and aisles of the forest ; the groups of slender pillars in the nave of Gothic buildings with their shafts springing heavenward and their capitals of leaves are the living trees of the Holy Grove, the overarching verdure of Nature petrified into the house of God.

The groves, the holy oaks, and wells were never objects of worship for the mass of the Germans ; although their gathering places were near the "Holy Well," in the "Holy Wood." The German did not address the well, or the oak ; he prayed beside the well, or beside the oak in the "holy precinct of the wood." He prayed to the god, whom he did not regard as dwelling in the well or the tree. The well was holy in his eyes, the leafy roof was hallowed, where offerings were made to the gods, and where the spoils of victory consecrated to the gods, spoils of gold and silver, were hung on the boughs and twigs of the trees. As among the ancient Greeks, song and music were the essential parts of divine worship as well as the offerings, so, among

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the ancient Germans, song and music accompanied the offering; their sacred feasts were like the Greek feasts, cheerful, popular festivals.

The offerings were eatables of every sort. If an individual was offering, he offered flowers, corn, fruits, milk, honey; at the offerings of a community or of a whole tribe, beasts were offered, cattle, swine, goats, kids, tame fowls, stags and roe-deer. The most precious offering was the horse; the flesh of the horse was deemed by the ancient German a dainty dish. Only a certain portion of the victim was offered to the god; all the rest the people consumed, boiled, baked or roasted. Every head of a house was the priest who offered for his own family. As there was no priestly caste, no priests, such as existed in Egypt, Judea, and elsewhere, the most ancient German language does not possess a word to denote priesthood, or designate a priest. The names Ewart, Gudja, Weiha, Sinito mean only "the guardians of human and divine law," judge, offerer, keeper of order in war, of peace at home, the minister of justice, the executor of the punishments decreed by the law. Had such a close priesthood existed among the heathen Germans, Christianity would have met with much greater opposition. A priestly caste would have established priestly dominion, unyielding, pertinacious, kindling the people to fanaticism.

At no time and in no place has any priesthood of any religion in the world, taught and prophesied the downfall of their gods, their doctrine and their worship. Such priesthoods, on the contrary, have always taught the eternity of their religions, and the restriction of salvation to the pale thereof, and judged every doubt to be deserving of death. Those, however, who presided over the service of the gods, and formed the theology of the ancient Germans, were so devoid of all priestcraft that they included in their teaching and in their belief the future downfall of their gods. This is the teaching of the Edda concerning "The twilight of the gods." By this fearfully beautiful expression is denoted the time when the world of gods shall be destroyed, when only Allfather remains and fashions a new heaven and a new earth. "The old Germanic view of the world involved the consciousness of its internal dissolution, which was to become a point of transition to a higher world, a world reconciled to itself; the spirit of the German and the Northman had unconsciously a prophetic presentiment of its future completion in Christianity."

The supreme direction of divine service, and especially the sacrifice, was in the hands of the representative of the district elected by the inhabitants; in case of war, in the hands of the elected general of the kingless tribes, in the hands of the elected king where that officer existed. The position of those who directed religious worship was in all its degrees dependent on election, and on election by the people and from the people. The conception of a distinction between priest and layman was quite foreign to the old German intellect.

Wheresoever a hierarchy, a dominant priesthood, has long had the upper hand, it has corrupted morals, enfeebled the people, and produced religious, political, national decay. When we cast our eyes over the fifteen hundred years which have elapsed since the fall of the ancient world, we see that the Germanic nations have had, and

still have, the high vocation of becoming and being the true bearers of Christian ideas and culture, of rejuvenating and reforming the world. By accepting Christianity, the Germans were endowed with strength and capacity for this lofty task; and the Christian religion obtained among the Germans and by the Germans that which made it capable of being the universal religion; no development of Christianity was possible under political and priestly despotism and among slaves as in the Eastern empire; in the striking words of Bunsen, "Both ancient Rome and Christian Constantinople died of Christianity—the former because she persecuted it as her bitterest and deadliest foe, the other because she cramped the ideas of Christianity by dead formulæ and external discipline, and erected in place of the Christian people the unlimited power of the absolute emperor and the imperial court. Christian Rome kept herself alive partly by traditionary influence and practical sagacity, partly by means of a young rising nationality, by means of the Germans."

The common sense and love of liberty of the Germans did not admit a priesthood in heathen times, and the Church required centuries to gain the upper hand over the spirit of freedom. The circumstance that the German nation had kept itself so long free from a dominant priesthood gave it the strength necessary to renew the effete world, and to propagate the Christianity transplanted from its Eastern birthplace to European soil. In this air of freedom alone could Christianity become capable of being what it has become, and what it will be.

We read indeed that there were priestesses of the gods among the Germans, a priesthood of the female sex. This is a confusion of the prophetesses mentioned by Tacitus with priestesses.

The Roman historian writes: "The Germans believe that something holy and prophetic dwells in woman; her responses are not despised, her utterances neglected. We saw in the reign of Vespasian that Weleda was esteemed by many as a divinity. And before her they worshipped Albruna (Aurinia, Allruna) and many others, not from flattery, nor as though they were making them deities." Here the Wise Women are meant, whose utterances were venerated in the belief that they possessed the gift of seeing into futurity.

The German heathens believed that some persons were endowed with the gift of prophecy, with the prophetic glance and word. They drew prophecies from the neighing and snorting of the consecrated horses, which were kept in honor of the gods in the holy groves, and selected for sacrifice, and from other "true tokens," from the flight and cry of birds. The latter came perhaps from the Romans. But the ancient Germans especially believed in lots as a means to learn the will of God and the future, to discover the truth in doubtful cases, to ascertain the criminal when many were accused or suspected of some evil deed. In important cases, divisions of inheritances were made by lot. There were two methods of divining by lot—drawing lots and casting lots; the last-mentioned was employed to learn future events.

## CHAPTER XI.

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### POETRY AND SONG—THE GERMAN LANGUAGE, AND LATIN CULTURE DOWN TO THE FALL OF THE CARLOVINGIANS.

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AMONG the Germans, as among the Greeks, not priests but poets made the lays of gods and heroes; faith and virtue, courage and justice were presented, not in prose but in poetry; the histories of gods and heroes lived for centuries only in songs which passed from mouth to mouth. During the second half of the last century and the beginning of this, men talked about the old German bards, as though our forefathers had had a school of bards like the Gauls—a close corporation of poets and singers. Such an institution never existed either in the north or the south of Germany. Any one, be he who he might, composed and sang, any one to whom God had given poetic fancy or a musical voice.

The German nation in all its branches is more highly dowered than any people in the world with the gifts necessary for poetry—richness of

fancy, depth of feeling, a warm heart for nature, an open, penetrating eye for nature and life. The greatest poet of the world, as far as the mastery of these above-men-

tioned particulars is concerned, Shakespeare, is an Anglo-Saxon, and by the comparison of the mediæval poems produced in England, we can ascertain the difference between the productions of the Romanic, the Gaelic, and the German portions of the mixed population of Great Britain.

Nothing except the Edda has come down in the form of lays from the heathen period. These lays from the far north are not remarkable for beauty; even the best of them are distinguished only by power and a certain grandeur, and boldness which at times border on wildness of imagery. Their charm lies not in their beauty but in their sublimity, in their value for our knowledge of the religious views of the old Germans.

Yet much in these lays is not merely powerful, bold, or sublime, but of a poetic beauty. It is with them as with the folded rosebud, which conceals the hues and perfume of the flower till the beams of the sun open it. Erik Halson, a learned Ice-lander of the seventeenth century, busied himself for ten years with the fifth lay of the elder Edda, Odin's Hrafnagaldur (Odin's Raven-song) without being able to understand it; to him and the other Scandinavians it remained the darkest and most enigmatical of the whole Edda. But Uhland, a son of the German south, a poet with poetic creative power, and an eye for beauty even in foreign poetic forms, explained to the Icelanders, the Swedes, the Norwegians, the verses composed in their own tongue, and by one of their own poets centuries before. He pointed out that the goddess Iduna expressed in her name the conception of renewal, that she is the returning spring, the fresh summer-green in grass and leaf; her abduction by the giant-eagle is the loss of foliage by the tree, the loss of verdure by the mead through the rude breath of the winds of autumn and winter. When Iduna sinks down from the World-Ash, and dwells in the valleys with Nörni's daughter, the night, she is, here also, the leafy verdure in which the burgeoning power of nature displays itself, and the disappearance of the fair goddess who rules in the realm of vegetation is the autumn. When the Edda says that the rape of Iduna made the gods old and gray, this means nothing else than that the gods see in the approach of winter an emblem of the approaching end of the world, that at the fall of the leaf they are seized with darkening forebodings, a feeling of which we cannot divest ourselves. When the leaves are scattered in the fall of the year, nature seems to us to grow old, and we to grow old with her. When in the Edda, Loki, the god of the underworld, is compelled by the gods to bring back Iduna, he brings her back in the form of a nut, by which the giant-eagle, who had carried her off, loses his life; that is, says Uhland, the seed-corn from which the dead world of plants is yearly renewed in verdure. The gods themselves are made young again by Iduna's return, that is, by the spring.

The poetical character of this view is not to be mistaken. This kind of poetry did not indeed come from the inspiring gleams which Zeus shot into the heart of the Greek poet; it has not the Greek grace, but yet it is poetry, and is in harmony with the German myth of the origin of poetry. Odin, so runs the old Norse myth, possesses the vat of divine mead, the gods' draught of immortality. To whomsoever

of mortals he gives this precious draught, to him he imparts at the same time the creative fancy, the gift of poetry.

In addition to the lays in which the legends of gods and heroes found expression, the Germans had battle-songs, and songs to be sung at the banquet and around the family hearth. According to the narrative of Tacitus, they sang their songs of battle by their camp-fires in the night before the fight, in the morning before the combat began, and again when victory had been won. To the cultivated Italian ear the melodies of these lays were unmusical, the voices of the German singers "like the cry of strident birds," hollow, rough, of savage gayety, rugged as the German tongue. And yet the character of the German songs and melodies must have been widely different from the character of the Scandinavian melodies and lays—must have been less savage, less fantastic, less monstrous. The accounts given by Jornandes of the Goths, and by Paul Warnefried of the Lombards, confirm this; these authors, treating of the oldest periods of these German tribes, resolve into prose, and give as history what was originally nothing but poetry, historical poetry, the smaller epic, the popular ballad, marked by the repose which is the characteristic of epic poetry, quite different from the lyrical character of the Eddaic lays with their abrupt and meagre melodies, their wild transitions, their deep tones, their obscure compression.

The Goths made early advances in civilization; and Jornandes, at first private secretary to the king of the Alans, then bishop of Cortona, in the middle of the sixth century speaks expressly of such historical lays, in which his countrymen sang of their old kings and their deeds. According to him, the deeds of the heroes Ethespamara, Hanala, Fridigern, and Vidikola were sung at the court of the Gothic kings and by the people. Fridigern, indeed, appears in such a fashion in his history, that what he relates concerning him as historical fact is, if judged by the contents, simple poetry. It is much to be regretted that this historian at the court of the Gothic king wrote Latin only, and extracted from these historical poems merely the actual facts without giving us one of these smaller epics in its poetic body and soul. He used these old lays after his own fashion; he left aside what was poetry, the remainder he turned into historical prose. It is possible that the Christian monk Jornandes was reluctant to preserve and propagate the heathen poems of his people with their gods and goddesses, their warlike pride, their defiant spirit of freedom.

There can be no doubt that Jornandes not merely had heard these lays, but had read them in manuscript at the court of the great king Theodorich. Theodorich must have taken down and secured by writing all the songs in which his people sang their old kings and heroes, as far as they were yet unwritten. Theodorich, who lived wholly for education, who had books translated and abstracted, who had Latin and Gothic taught, could not have neglected the history of his people and his race which then existed in the heroic ballads. The fact that Jornandes did not bodily insert these songs of his people in his history, may point to the conclusion that he found them universally remembered and current in the mouths of his countrymen.

Nothing, therefore, in its original form has come down to us from the rich cycle of

poetry which the Lombards possessed; but its beauty can be seen in the prose of Paul the son of Warnefried. It is genuine German life and poetry; the Lombard, a foe to everything Roman, kept his poetry and modes of life genuinely German. Such are the rich poetic materials which Paul has broken up the rhythm of, and given as prose in somewhat unpolished Latin. They are pure poetry; here a noble fragment of a heroic lay, there some animated, tragically beautiful romance. Such are the death of Rodulf, the death of Ferdulf, the youthful deeds and knighting of Albain, the enmity of Grimwald and Bertarit, Authari's wooing of Theodolinda, the vengeance of Rosamund, and others. How beautiful in their original form must these ballads and songs have been when they are still so beautiful in the heavy varnish and dull tone of color which Paul has spread over them!

It was only natural that in the first centuries of the introduction of Christianity among the Germans, the priests of the Church should strive to suppress all reminiscences of heathenism, all that was heathen in content, especially the heathen lays of gods and heroes. Here and there some priest, some convert who had taken orders, may have made an exception, and strolling singers, often blind, continued to sing the old lays to the peasantry, and the peasants sang them among themselves, beyond doubt, in secret. For ecclesiastical punishment were in terms denounced against "the singing of heathen lays," as against all heathen worship, not merely against runes and spells, but against praying to rocks or wells, and against all the heathen festivals except those which the Church had wisely made Christian.

Even Charles the Great was compelled by his system to persecute the old heathen poems, as his object was to extirpate with fire and sword all traces of heathenism, and to plant Christianity in its place. When the merits of Charles towards old German poetry are praised, two perfectly different things are confounded. As far as lay in his power he rooted out the old German poetry, the heathen ballads of gods and heroes; and when he collected the old lays, he did not do so for the purpose of giving them to the people in a collected form, or as a cycle of sagas, but of preserving them in writing for the libraries of the learned. We have not the slightest indication that he wished to make them popular. He could not indeed have done so without encouraging heathenism among the newly-converted Germans, who were ready enough to relapse to the old faith. It is certain that towards the end of the reign of Charles, these lays were used for learned purposes in the convents, for German language and history.

Charles honored the German language as his mother tongue, and strove earnestly to ennoble it and make it a literary language. Policy suggested that he ought to give a common speech to the German races which he had formed into a political and religious community, and develop the German language to greater uniformity. The dialects of North and South Germany were wide apart. Between them lay the Frank dialect, and the Frank country on the Main and Middle Rhine. This dialect offered itself as an intermediary, and bond of connection between the north and the south; he made it the court language, and at the latter part of his life he devoted himself to

making a German grammar. For this end he may have used the old lays and sagas. But as even the liberal-minded Alcuin opposed the retention of these lays where they still survived among the people, and the revival of them where they had been forgotten, we may guess how the other Christian clergy regarded them. Charles did not complete even his calendar; we only owe to him the German names of the months—Wintermonat, Hornung, Ostermonat, and the like—and the preservation of the ancient names of the week.

Seven years after the death of Charles, there still existed in the convent of Reichenau, in the Lake of Constance, a number of heathen ballads used for linguistic purposes. Lewis the Pious, however, was induced to destroy, as heathen abominations, the ballads collected by his father, the unique monuments of the oldest poetry and history of the Germans. At the same time, probably, the poems of the Lombards of the heathen period, the sources from which Paul Warnefried drew his materials, were destroyed by a false zeal for Christianity. It may be that the orders of Lewis the Pious were not thoroughly carried out, and that some fragments escaped from which the Nibelungenlied and other epic poems of the Middle Ages grew up.

Charles, however, did much less for his native language than he has received credit for. He ordered, indeed, sermons to be preached in German, and in the last year of his life issued a command that every bishop should preach in the vernacular tongue. He died, however, before this was carried out, and all the learned men of his court wrote in Latin. Latin was the official language of the imperial chancery, Latin was the language of religious worship, and in Latin the monks composed their verses. Latin was the language of the Church; the learned men among the Germans, almost exclusively clergymen educated in the convent, would have dreaded to appear deficient in Christian spirit if they had zealously devoted themselves to the heathen German language.

The researches of the students of old German agree in one point, however much they differ in others: that many of the lays respecting gods and heroes fled across sea when persecuted by priestly fanaticism, and hid themselves in a northern garb in the lays of the Edda.

It was chiefly by the civilization and language of ancient Rome that Charles the Great sought to form the nations of his wide empire; and this cultivation of Latin was the means of bringing the Germans into connection with the treasures of classical antiquity. He made, indeed, only a beginning; his death brought things to a stand; after the light which he lit, and which went out soon after him, thick darkness again spread itself. The introduction and the predominance of this foreign material, while it was of some use, at the same time were injurious; they checked the independent development of the German national spirit.

Charles the Great was not only king of the Germans, but head of an empire embracing the southwestern part of the European continent almost entirely, and stretching far to the north and east. As such he could not take the position towards German speech and literature which is so falsely attributed to him; he remained true



through life to his leading idea—to give to a barbarian world true religion, civilization, unity, and prosperity by diffusing education and culture.

He is really the founder of “a new culture-period.” But at the same time it is clear that the changes introduced, in this respect, by the energy and activity of Charles, the gains and losses resulting therefrom, must be traced back to the other older conditions, primitive religion, poetry and song.

## CHAPTER XII.

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THE FAMILY—LAWS, OCCUPATIONS, AND CUSTOMS—CHANGES THEREIN EFFECTED  
BY CHARLES THE GREAT—FOUNDATION OF A PURE GERMAN EMPIRE.

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IN the historical period of the German nations there is no epoch at which a general uniformity existed among the various races, tribes or branches. The tribes which bordered on the Romans, were the first to be touched by the influences of Roman civilization. But apart from such variations arising from the influence of neighbors and from intercourse with them, as well as from the protracted rule of Rome over considerable portions of Germany, the other German tribes which did not come into contact with foreigners exhibited great differences from each other. There was no unity but a multiplicity, a multiplicity such as exists to-day, but greater in old times than it is now. Even the natural conditions of the various tribes, the climate, the soil, were widely different. But according to the impartial testimony of the Romans and Greeks, remarkable mental and physical characteristics gave even in the earliest days a national stamp to the majority of the German tribes.

The centuries of German history through which we have just gone, show that the fundamental characteristics of this nation of many members down to the period which our narrative has reached, were simplicity of manners, domestic chastity and modesty, a sound mind in a sound body seasoned by exertion, a proud, defiant spirit of freedom, a cheerful disposition in life and death. But at the end of the eighth century we have no longer the beautiful traits so lauded by Tacitus; at all events, we find no longer in the higher circles German fidelity and inviolable truth; both had been corrupted by priestcraft and statecraft.

Figure, countenance, complexion, hair were so universally the same among the Germans, that light hair, blue eyes, white skin, tall stature and limbs in proportion thereto, are given by the Romans as the bodily characteristics of the whole German family of nations, of women as well as of men. The blue of the eye has naturally many varieties; all the Germans were at no period seven foot and over; light hair comprehends flaxen, golden, auburn and red; these varieties of light hair in the course

of the first centuries had alongside them brown and black hair in German families through intermarriage with neighboring Gauls or Slaves or Romans, and brown and black eyes soon were vieing with eyes of blue.

The physical and mental traits of the Germans created in the Romans an irresistible impression that here was a people of a noble nature. "Great are their bodies," said Agrippa, "greater their souls." The poet Lucan, whose soul was filled with a longing for freedom which he saw no longer in the Roman world, uttered the expression, "Freedom is a German possession." Only among the Germans could he find men of free souls and of freedom, men with a deep sense of honor and integrity. Cæsar indeed erroneously attributes to the proud love of freedom which marked the German race, their habit of living in scattered dwellings, a habit explained by Tacitus as arising from anxiety to avoid danger of fire. Such a habit exists in Upper Swabia and Bavaria and the deeper lying parts of Würtemberg, and once existed throughout all Germany, but not for the reasons assigned by Cæsar or Tacitus. The modern farmer of Bavaria or Würtemberg in his isolated farm-house and its appurtenances, is not, any more than his ancestors, filled with ideas of freedom and independence, or with a dread of fire. He dwells in this lonely fashion because the soil has not the means of supporting man or beast in larger settlements. Much more must this have been the case in early times when agriculture was at a low stage. The notion that this isolated mode of living was universal or at least common for centuries, still survives in many minds. Two passages of Tacitus have given occasion for it, passages where he says "the Germans do not endure cities on their territory, because confinement behind walls injures free spirit, and makes men effeminate and servile." But Tacitus has other passages contradicting these; and at the very beginning of this history we have told that Julius Cæsar found twelve cities and four hundred villages of Germans in *Germania Parva*, as the Romans named the districts on the Upper and Middle Rhine.

In the interior there were indeed only few cities, but great villages, forts and castles. In the border lands they not only occupied the cities which they had taken from the Romans, but erected extensive fortifications where they found none existing. War with the Romans compelled the Marcomanni and Quadi to this step. That the Germans preferred the freedom of the woods and open country to life in a fortified town is quite natural; but where necessity dictates, inclination gives way.

Freedom, in the case of nations and individuals, depends very much on the absence of wants; when men have many wants, they become mutually dependent. The independence of a free man rests in our days on the simplicity of his life and the life of his family. In the days of our ancestors their mode of life and their dwellings were of the simplest kind. The latter were as simple as those of the settler in the West, mostly built of wood, and thatched with straw or rushes, like the houses in Swabia and Upper Bavaria, and painted in brilliant colors. The nobles and rich men had, even in the first centuries, better and larger abodes—the former possessing fortified houses resembling the Italian and medieval German castles, with wall and ditch

and towers of stone; the latter having their homesteads inclosed by a wall, and houses partly or wholly of stone, if such material was at hand. Such are the houses still in many parts of South Germany among the rural population.

In the districts just named, the country-folk are simple in their dress, and involuntarily remind us of the Roman and Byzantine remarks on the simplicity of German garb. Like the Greeks, who were very late in adopting the use of a covering for the head, the ancient German, as a rule, had his head bare; the only exceptions were in case of bad weather, war or festivals. Their own abundant hair, the result of a simple and virtuous life, was at once the protection and the ornament of the head, an ornament on which they set much store. Yet the hat was in the earliest period both known and used, as was the helmet in war; but both were worn only when necessary. That they wore in times of war the heads of wild beasts for the purpose of making

themselves seem taller and more terrible to the enemy, a practice falsely attributed by the Romans to the Kymri, is a statement clearly fabulous; Tacitus remarks that such heads of beasts were not worn by the Germans. The skin of the wolf, furs of all sorts, protected them against the weather. The wolf-skin was worn in winter in Southern Germany even at the beginning of this century. Cloaks of wool, fastened with a brooch or clasp on the shoulder, were soon used; under the cloak they wore a jerkin, in winter of wool, in summer of linen, with a bright-colored, generally red border. The wives and daughters of the house, not the female slaves as in Roman and Greek palaces, spun and wove the flax, and made both the woollen and linen clothes. This was part of a housewife's pride, and even the Emperor Charles the Great usually wore no clothes but those made by his wives and his daughters. Vests, breeches and shirts were also adopted in early times by the Germans, who, when they served as auxiliaries in the Roman armies, made these articles of dress general. The usual female dress was a linen robe confined by a belt, a woollen mantle or fur

jacket in bad weather. The woolen material had many an ornament embroidered by their hands, and cheaper skins had trimmings added of more costly furs. The innate sense of beauty which in the very earliest time was the dowry of the Germans, could not remain in the background, but sought to adorn the person. The old tombs, which have been opened in great numbers, exhibit ornaments of precious metals, gold and silver necklaces, bracelets, rings, clasps of all kinds, as in general use not only among women but among men. But excess and every kind of luxury was unknown to both sexes till the ecclesiastical system and luxury of Rome came into German territory.

For centuries the noblest ornament of womankind was deemed to be the inward ornament of a domestic spirit, of a noble housewifery which knew and loved the cares and labors of a house, which superintended the whole household, men and maids, which kept up the good old customs, according to which the mother and daughters of the house bore a hand in all housewifely business. But a woman's greatest glory externally was her long golden hair. So highly valued was this beauty, that in the districts where an intermixture with Gauls or Romans had produced black or brown hair in men and women (as in modern Hesse, the Netherlands and Nassau), both sexes at a very early period used a dye to give their black or brown locks the blonde hue they so much loved. The men and women of Germany, we need not say, were actuated by the highest moral principles; they wished to show their personal free-

dom by the color of their hair, and to distinguish themselves from the slaves of both sexes, from the men-servants and maid-servants of Slavonic or Gallo-Romanic blood, whether purchased or prisoners of war, who were all blest with black or brown hair. The ladies of Rome and the Roman empire liberally patronized the German quacks who sold "Chatti-unguent" or "Batavian Bear's grease" for the purpose of dyeing the hair. But they were not inspired by moral principles but by envy of this glory of the German women, because light hair, a rarity among the Italians, was much admired by the Roman gentlemen, who had lost all ideas about woman's rights, and

had become mere fools of fashion, valuing a woman by the color of her hair. Among the German men, long hair was held in honor. When the Franks became kingridden instead of kingless, the sons of royal blood kept the long, waving hair; the others wore it cropped short. The Sigambri and a portion of the Suevi tied the hair up on the head; the other tribes let it fall loose on the neck. This fashion of long hair remained till late in the Middle Ages a mark not only of the noble but of the free man.

The food of the Germans of all classes was simple, but good and plentiful. Flesh meat, oaten or barley bread, milk, fish and eggs were their usual viands. The children imbibed their first strength from the breasts of their healthy mothers, and a diet chiefly composed of animal food, gave to the rising generation that strength of limb and that energy which distinguished them for centuries. With their riches in cattle

and in game, there was never any want on German soil of nourishing victuals. Education formed the well-fed children into active youths and maidens.

From childhood to youth the Germans were accustomed to bathe in cold water, live in the open air, endure storm and tempest without superfluity of clothing; the sports of their childhood and youth were bodily exercises, while the care of their cattle and the chase helped to invigorate them the more, because agriculture in Central and Southern Germany was not an exhausting pursuit. With the abundance of domestic animals and beasts of chase in most parts of Germany tillage of the soil was not necessary to a great extent; those members of the family who did not bear arms sufficed to care for the house, the farm-yard, the land; and thus those in the prime of youth and manhood had time and room enough to hunt not only deer or wild-boar, but the swift thick-felled eland, and the wild urus, the wild ox which is also called Wiasant, whose horns they loved to fashion into drinking cups. The old German

saying that "the chase was the best school of war," must not be judged by the exploits of our sporting gentlemen of to-day, but of the subordinate foresters and game-keepers browned by the sun and storm, who have furnished for every war soldiers that prove how true the adage is. The chase then differed from the modern hunt as much as the domestic economy, or the political constitution under Charles the Great differed from those of to-day. From the personal supervision exercised by the high-born and dearly beloved wives of this great ruler over the household and household cares, from the simplicity of his court and administration, a simplicity inconceivable and almost incredible to our contemporaries, we may conclude how simple were all the arrangements of the ordinary German house.

If we did not know how servilely most of the students of classical antiquity in Germany, and most of the class educated by them, regard every statement of an old Roman writer as an oracle, and look on every word of every classical writer as so much unalloyed gold, it would be incomprehensible how currency has been given to the old fable of a fondness for strong drink prevailing among the ancient Germans. A full century and a half before the time of Tacitus, the chief witness alleged for this accusation, a love of intoxicating liquors was common in the Roman world among all classes, high and low, not merely among men but among ladies of high, even of the highest rank. Exquisite banquets, wine and enjoyment, were the orders of the day in the first century of the Roman empire; a senate must have been intoxicated when a Roman emperor ordered it to pay divine honors, not to himself, but to his favorite steed, and when it decreed such honors. As a contrast to such senseless resolutions of senators and magistrates, Tacitus, with his fine irony, brings forward the German practice: "Questions of peace and war the Germans usually discuss at their banquets, but the matter is debated a second time the following day. They choose for debate the hours when the heart conceals nothing, when free utterance is given to every thought, when men become enthusiastic for great thoughts and deeds. But they choose for resolution the hours when men are sober, and in a condition to separate truth from falsehood." He remarks further, "To prolong the drinking bout far into the night is among them no disgrace," and does not thereby imply that this is a peculiar propensity of the Germans in strong contrast to Roman temperance; he knew too well what were the banquets of the empire, where the revelry was prolonged, not only deep into the night, but to the next morning, where the potations were of the hot Italian wines, which is fiery even when mixed with water, and where men and women both took it to excess. The Germans usually drank water or milk; and in their banquets, while the harp and the song resounded, they drank nothing but beer made from barley or oats, or mead, a concoction of honey and water. Wine was to be found only in those portions of Germany which bordered on the Roman empire; and for a full century after Christ the use of wine was so rare in Germany that Tacitus, in his selfish patriotism, advises his countrymen to send to Germany plenty of wine. "Only encourage their love of drink, and give them as much wine as they wish, and they can be conquered more easily by their own vices than by Roman arms."

The Germans seem to have been cautious about the introduction of the wines of Italy or France. Although the commercial intercourse with the centre of Germany was carried on to a great extent by Roman and Gallic merchants, yet wine is not enumerated among the articles most in demand; these were woven goods, ornaments, and household utensils. Down to the late Middle Ages, the pure Germans were beer-drinkers; only the Romanized Germans in Italy, France, and Spain became wine-bibbers. The hope of the old Romans that the Germans might degenerate and perish by excess in wine, was not fulfilled.

The chase in the thick primeval forests furnished many objects of trade, pelts and fells. The breeding of cattle, which was facilitated by the abundance of every kind of mast and fodder, enabled them to send much butcher-meat to the Roman territories; the hams of Westphalia were famous and high-priced among the Romans of the empire. Horses were in great numbers exported from Germany, and German geese supplied the Romans with the best feathers in the world. For several centuries an active trade in human hair, the blonde German hair and the above-mentioned hair dye, was carried on with Rome. Fresh-water pearls from the rivers and brooks of Bavaria, Saxony, and Bohemia, and amber, were articles of trade. The latter was found in Saxony, Hanover, Swabia, especially in the amber district of Samland, between the Pegel, the Frische Haff, the Curische Haff, and the Baltic. On the coast of this district, where much amber is still obtained, it was found not only in inexhaustible quantities, but, in the opinion of the Romans, of better quality than the



amber of Sicily or Spain. It was an exceedingly profitable article of export to Rome, where it was employed in necklaces and bracelets, alike by the ladies of the city and the peasant-women in the country, and by the men in buttons, knife-handles, and ornaments for weapons of war and of the chase. The Roman physicians sold to credulous mothers amulets of amber for their children, and used amber as a cure of many diseases. The simplicity of life, the fewness of their wants, prevented more extensive commerce, and any export of manufactures requiring skilled labor. The artistic skill of the Germans confined itself for centuries to the making of weapons and ornaments in the interior of the country, to ship-building and ship-decoration among the tribes dwelling on the coast.

Slaves, too, were an article of commerce; the Germans sold into the Roman empire prisoners of war taken from non-German tribes, and bought slaves in the Roman, Gallic, and Slavonic markets. In this they were no worse than their contemporaries, Jews and heathens, Romans and Greeks. The latter carried on a slave trade even in the most flourishing period of their intellectual culture, and Athenians and Spartans both sold as slaves their Hellenic countrymen who had become captives in war or insolvent debtors. And if the ancient Germans had the right of selling as slaves for export abroad those who had lost their personal liberty in games of chance, and used this right to sell them into the Roman empire, the disgrace of the proceeding should fall not on the vendor, but on the passion for gambling which led to such stakes.

This passion for gambling was a dark trait in the ancient German character. It was widespread, and so immoderate that, in sober, not in drunken moments, the freeman, who had lost everything, would stake his freedom on the last throw, and if he lost, would enter into slavery, and allow himself to be bound and taken to the slave market. "So great," writes Tacitus, "is their adherence to a bargain, even in a bad case: they call it honor." The winner would be ashamed of having as a slave one who had been a freeman and fellow-townsmen; the loser would be ashamed to live in his old home in a degraded slavery, and hence the former would sell to the Roman dealers one who had staked and lost his freedom. Perhaps, however, many who had thus lost their freedom remained at home as vassals or serfs, either condition being preferable to the condition of slaves in Rome, and widely different from it.

The unfree in Germany were not house-servants of their master; each had his own dwelling and homestead, in which he was master. The villein or serf had to pay as annual tribute a certain amount of corn, or cattle, or clothing; and the Roman historian declares: "It was not the habit of the free German to inflict corporal chastisement on slaves, or punish them by fetters and forced labor." The serf, too, had his wife, sons, and daughters to assist him in his husbandry. The abundance of draught animals and of land made husbandry easy; plows, harrows, spades, and pikes were in use at the beginning of the historical period, as were two-wheeled and four-wheeled carts; all kinds of grain were raised; the favorite crop was barley or oats, with millet, turnips, and carrots. German turnips were so good, that the Emperor Tiberius had

some sent him every year. Other productions of Germany were equally celebrated—flax, asparagus, radishes. The latter were said to attain the size of a new-born child.

The simple character of their domestic economy checked any development of art and manufacture. The great capacity of the Germans for every kind of art and industrial pursuit could not unfold itself as long as manners were simple and wants few. The remark made a few lines above, that the Germans of both sexes were not disinclined to improve by ornament their external attractions, must be taken to be true chiefly of those who had been in contact with the Romans, had been infected with Roman fashions, and had brought to their homes, from their campaigns under Roman standards, various articles of personal adornment, either presents bought for their wives and daughters, or distinctions of honor conferred by the emperor, or else spoils taken in war against the Romans. But the majority of the German people on strictly German territory did not wear these ornaments; they were free from such vanity till long after the times of Charles the Great. Silver vessels and dishes were, even in the ninth and tenth centuries after Christ, very rare in the houses even of the richest proprietors in Germany under the rank of duke.

During a state of society so simple and contented, the artistic feeling and inventive skill of the German nature could not grow. The great capacities of the German nature were there, but were there in repose. The rich retained their ancestral simplicity of life; the poor could all live without being compelled by want to turn to handicrafts or the arts. Whatever the Germans, during the first thousand years of their history, did in these respects, was done from a creative spirit, not from necessity.

The occupations which were indispensable for the mode of life prevalent in Germany were followed in the earliest times. The freemen who were masters in their different crafts, of forging weapons, making houses, plows, boats, wagons, drinking-horns and battle-horns, metal ornaments and the like, the smith, the founder, the carpenter, the mason, the cartwright, when they quitted their shops at the summons to war, were the men who struck in battle such master-strikes as they had struck on the anvil or with the axe. These crafts had been brought by the Germans from their only Arian homes, and they had opportunity enough to learn more from the Greeks, the Romans, and the Gauls. Not merely the common freeman, but the highest nobles sought the reputation of being masters in the smith's art. This art of forging weapons was brought to perfection early, and German weapons were eagerly sought for by non-German tribes, and were articles of commerce. The smith's trade was the first German industry in which orders were given and sales made.

The freemen of the North and Baltic Seas were acquainted with seafaring very early. Their vessels appeared to the Romans and appear to us very imperfect. But the bold voyages of the Northmen, the expeditions of the Vikings, prove that those simple barks were well enough adapted for the ends of the Northern adventurers as long as they remained what they were. Practised swimmers and soldiers from their childhood, they lived close to the sea, and were rovers and sometimes conquerors, as in Britain and France; and the shallow, easily-steered, double-ended keels were well

adapted for the precipitous coasts of their own bays and bights, as well as for foreign shores and the ascent of foreign streams. The vessels of the Saxons on the coast of Germany resembled those of the north.

The external life of the German household was simple, its inward life pure and happy. The Roman Tacitus regarded as something sacred the purity and sincerity of German domestic life, and this purity and heartiness remained for ten centuries in the houses of the nobles on pure German soil, while among the citizens of the free cities and the country people, conjugal and domestic life remained pure and sincere till a century after the Reformation. It took a long time for foreign innovations to corrupt the higher circles, innovations proceeding from Italy at first, then from Spain and France; and it took a still longer time for the corrupt influences of princely courts or noble castles to descend to the people, and spread over city and land. The thirty years war with its Spanish, Italian, and French hordes, first corrupted to a great extent the order and purity of domestic life among the citizens and country-folk.

Marriages were not entered into before full maturity; as a rule, not before the twentieth year of the bride, and the twenty-fifth of the bridegroom. In Rome, under the empire, early marriages were common—bride and bridegroom were often mere children. One of the surest signs that a nation is declining into senility is the system of early marriages—permitting the solemn contract of marriage to be entered upon by parties unripe in body and soul; and the surest sign that a nation is losing its moral character is the system of marriages for money, not for mutual love. Every nation has sunk down where either one or the other system, or both together, has prevailed.

In the Romanic portions of the empire of the Franks, but not in the German districts, marriages took place even in Carolingian times, which were contracted with a view to the property brought as a dowry by the wife, or other interested motives. But the pure Germans, for a thousand years, kept their souls clean from marriages of calculation or interest. A marriage for money seemed to the ancient Germans dishonoring. Woman was a precious treasure which the man must win; and if father or guardian gave consent to the union, the happy bridegroom purchased the wardship (*munt*) from the father or guardian; that is, the maiden passed from the power and hand of the father or guardian into the hand of the lover who emancipated her from her wardship. The word *munt*, in Middle High German equivalent to hand, was a kind of wardship. A sum of money, which was proportioned to his circumstances, was paid by the bridegroom before the marriage; this property served after his death to support his widow, and after her death reverted to the relations on his side. On the morning after the marriage the bridegroom gave the bride the *Morgengabe*, or morning-gift. This was her own private property, and after her death went to the relations on her side. In the oldest period she brought no kind of property with her, and even the portion of later days, given by the father of the bride, consisted simply of cattle, furniture, utensils, and the like.

The only things the bride brought to her husband's home were presents from her parents, sisters and brothers, relatives and friends—the wedding presents still customary, clothes, furniture, arms. The payment by which the bride was emancipated was not a money affair, a bargain between the lover and the girl's kindred; as a rule, it was a yoke of oxen, a horse and bridle, and arms. This payment for the wardship must not be confounded with the property handed over before marriage to support his widow, which is now called dower.

During the first ten centuries of Germany, business marriages were unknown, marriages of inclination universal, and therefore wedded life was unspotted, and the German nation the first in Christendom.

Among the heathen Romans religion played an important part in the ceremony of marriage; among the Germans before they became Christians, it was a civil act, a civil marriage without a priest. Yet the wedded knot was kept as holily, if not more so, than when tied by the Christian priest. Divorce did not exist. Adultery was rare, still rarer any other punishment of the woman than repudiation, although the law allowed the husband to sell the unfaithful wife, or to slay her by any mode of death he chose. The usual punishment was to cut off her hair in the presence of her relatives, and publicly turn her out of the house. Widows seldom married again, so great was their attachment to their husbands; sometimes wives slew themselves at the death of their husbands in order not to be divided even in death; but this seems to have been confined to the Heruli, that nation of wandering soldiers by profession. The influence women always exert when they enjoy honor and liberty, softened the severity of the old law and the passions of the men. The moral power of pure womanhood, especially when invested by Christianity with a religious sanction, preserved the German nations from lapsing into barbarism during the centuries of the Great Migrations, and had a strong and deep influence in the Middle Ages, in the palace and in the castle, in the houses of the citizens, in the cottages of the peasants. The long continuance of simple domestic habits and generous housewifery stamped on German family life the double impress of domesticity and tenderness.

The fittest expression for the spirit of German family life was the word *sippe*—a word which in Germany has now a bad meaning, and in England survives only in the compound “gossip” and in provincial dialects. In old German, *sippe*, or *sib*, meant “peace,” “friendship.” All the members of intermarried families were *sib* to each other, and in South Germany and in provincial England, “friends” mean “relatives.”

Among the ancient Greeks, and among the Romans under the republic, and under the empire till the time of Trajan, the father possessed a legal right to expose or put to death a new-born child; among the Romans the father possessed power of life and death over his son before his emancipation, even in the most flourishing period of Roman culture; the German tribes in their earliest days stood far higher than Greek and Roman in this matter. The moment that the lips of the new-born babe had been touched by a drop of milk or honey, either by its mother or any other hand, the father's right to decide respecting the death of the child ceased and determined. The

father, at whose feet the child was laid after milk or honey had touched its lips, was compelled to raise the child, or see that it was raised up. This act was an acknowledgment of the child, and of the obligation of bringing it up.

In the year 28 A.D. the Frisians sent into the camp of the Roman horseleech Olennius their wives and children, as the only things which still remained to them in their oppression; and some writers have erroneously inferred that "it was the right and use of German men to give or sell their wives and children into slavery." This was not the case. The sale of wives or daughters by the husband and father was utterly repugnant to the respect paid universally to the woman by the German man. The daughters were so much more highly esteemed that, in all exertions of paternal authority over the children, the females had the preference. Till the son reached his

twenty-first year, the father could cut off the long hair, the distinguishing mark of the free man, as often as he wished; and as this was an article of trade in much request, such cutting took place often, and the Roman matrons and maidens wore the locks of German youths. But to the German girls the father left this glory of a woman; they could keep themselves from the scissors till their coverture, that is, till their marriage, till they were covered by the bridal veil. With the assumption of the veil, a mark of housewifely dignity, the length of their virginal locks was shortened. This shortening of the hair must be distinguished from cutting off the hair, which was a punishment.

A deep blot, which Christianity somewhat softened but did not thoroughly remove, among the military aristocracy of the Middle Ages, was want of respect, not for old age, but for old men unable to bear arms. However beautiful in many respects the family life of the German household might be, it required the lapse of centuries and the influence of Christianity to produce respect for age, when age was attended by sickness or feebleness. As long as the old man was sound in limb, and able to go forth to battle, he was honored for his experience; but that form of love and gratitude which honors and cherishes the aged simply because they are aged, was long in

appearing in the class of nobles. The father, who became incapable of bearing arms, was supplanted during his lifetime in his position as head of the house by his son, and it was no disgrace to the son if he thrust his aged parent from his position, made himself lord of the house, and relegated his father to the circle of women, children, and servants who did the household work.

A man was held to be a man as long as he could draw the sword; and therefore the male members of a family were called Sword-kin (*Schwertmagen*), the female members Spindle-kin (*Spillmagen*). After a few centuries the year of majority was fixed for the twenty-first year in case of sons, and custom required them then to set up an independent establishment; the law, in fact, prohibited a longer stay in the paternal home, because such stay involved tutelage. The sword-kinsman who had completed his twenty-first year could only choose between marriage or service away from home. As a rule, it was held disgraceful to remain unmarried after attainment of majority. If the youth preferred to remain with his father and mother at home, he lost his honor, became a "Hagastalt," a word which in the modern language has become "Hagastolz," a term applied to an old bachelor. Such a youth his father, according to law and custom, put out of doors into the "Hag," that is, into the "Gehege" of the house, the quarters where the servants dwelt. The "Hagastalt" was thenceforward in the position of a hired servant; the father was his lord, the son had no right in the property, only the use of a dwelling and the enjoyment of the common property—wood, pasture, water. Hence the word Hagastalt became equivalent to day-laborer or hired man. The sons who neither married nor remained in their father's house in this dependent station, entered the service of some war-prince as mercenaries. (*Söldner*, soldiers, from *sold*, pay.)

The universal rule was that a free man could marry none but a free woman. If he married an unfree woman he became himself unfree.

The birth and burial of a member of the house were celebrated by all the family. When the newly-born child had been placed at the feet of the father, and lifted up either by him or by some one at his command, the festivity commenced by a kind of baptism, the child being plunged into cold water and a name given it. One of the witnesses of the ceremony selected the name to be given to the child; as a rule the child bore the name of this witness. The witnesses then made presents to the child. This baptismal rite existed in the old German religion thousands of years before Christ was born; and when Christianity came to the Germans, Christian baptism with ecclesiastical ceremonies found easy entrance, as such a symbolic immersion, together with the naming of the child, and gifts from godfathers already existed. The German baptismal feast, too, comes down from heathen times. The death of a member of the house was solemnized with eating and drinking. The Lykewake was also a pre-Christian custom. Burial, the placing of the corpse in the bosom of the earth, in the case of illustrious dead in a high, heaped-up mound, was the original German custom, the usual method of disposing of the dead among the Germans of the North. Only those of the South who bordered on the Greeks and Romans adopted the method

of burning the corpse and collecting the ashes in an urn. But even in these cases, the head was usually not burnt but buried in the earth along with the urn of ashes. The dead man was generally buried in his habit as he lived. With the brave were interred weapons and drinking-horns, for such went to Walhalla, where everything else was prepared and supplied. This is the reason why in most of the German graves no domestic utensils are found. Only those who did not die as heroes, who had not the sure hope of entering Walhalla, had household articles buried with them, because they would have in the next world to prepare their own meals, and hence we find in some graves plates and dishes, braziers and hand-mills. When the survivors sat at the Lykewake, they deemed the soul of the departed to be present at the banquet.

Before the Great Migrations and the wars of conquest, the number of the unfree was very small in proportion to the number of the free; there was no swarm of slaves as in Greece or Rome. The *unfree* became so by play, by debts, by inability to pay the penalties imposed by a judge, or to satisfy the demands of a creditor. The insolvent could satisfy the severe judge or the merciless creditor by his personal freedom, that is, by becoming a slave. But it is clear that the number of unfree from these sources could not be large; it was from war that the unfree proceeded. Not merely the despotically governed peoples of Asia, but the refined Greeks and Romans, in spite of their free political constitutions, had the habit of enslaving their captives in war, and not captives from foreign nations alone, but even of their own nationality. The old Germans, therefore, have some excuse; in the first place, they were from the beginning a warlike nation, and remained so for more than ten centuries; in the second place, according to their religious views, the man who surrendered himself prisoner could not enter Walhalla; the hero must choose death on the field before captivity; he who, unwounded, laid down his arms and chose captivity, was in the eyes of every German man and woman unworthy of being free.

Thus, even before the Great Migrations, the most of the unfree consisted of prisoners of war. During the time of the migrations of the nations, and during the subsequent wars of conquest, their number increased; whole districts were, by the rights of conquest, deprived of freedom, declared to be, land and people, the property of the conquerors; the prisoners taken on the field or in the pursuit were divided as slaves among the conquerors, and were kept as slaves by them if they did not sell this portion of their booty to foreigners.

It happened, however, very seldom that the conquerors in mass settled on the conquered country, they usually remained in their original homes and left officials in the conquered districts; this was an advantage to the conquered; the victors had neither time nor wish to till the conquered districts, and the Germans were too honest to plunder their subjects after the fashion of Greek and Roman governors. Hence there arose in early times a class of unfree who were allowed to remain on their old properties on paying an annual rent and acknowledging the conquerors as their lords, and without the right to bear arms unless by permission of their lords.

They were not slaves (*Leibeigen*), *villeins in gross*; they had no longer any political

rights such as they had had in freedom, but, with loss of freedom, they had not also lost their rights as men; they had legal rights not only among themselves but against their lords, provided always they claimed this right before the tribunal of the conquerors. This last article and that of not possessing the full right of arms, constituted *unfreedom*, which did not consist in want of estates in fee, nor in villeinage regardant and rent charge. The man was unfree who had no right of his own, but was dependent on the protection and under the power of a free man, and who had not the full right to bear arms, nor power or license to protect himself. Want of estates would otherwise have made many free men into unfree.

The estates named *allodial* descended only to males, in many German tribes only to the eldest male, as is to-day the way with both noble and peasant in Swabia, and with nobles in the greater part of Germany, Germanized England and Romanized France. He who took the allodial estate by descent had to support his brothers and sisters, and kindred. The younger sons who did not take by descent, were not *unfree* but only not fully free.

Freedom, like unfreedom, had its degrees. *Fully-free* were those who, while capable of bearing arms, possessed a certain estate, without any difference as to whether this allodial estate was acquired by descent or purchase. The younger son who acquired an estate by marriage was fully-free; so was he who conquered an estate in war; but neither the man who remained in the "Gehege" of his father's house, nor the man who, as the follower and servant of some lord, received a grant of land as a reward for service, was fully-free.

The lot of the villeins (*Hörigen*) was not slavery properly so-called. They could and often did receive from their lords the right of arms, and thus thousands of them became free. But the *Leibeigenen*, the *villeins in gross*, received only in exceptional cases an inferior kind of right of arms, and, even when set free, remained owing suit and service to their lords. The *villeins in gross* (*Liebeigenen*) seldom attained perfect freedom; they more frequently became *villeins regardant*. The villein in gross, his wife and child, were part of the movable property of the lord. He was attached to the person (*Leib*) of his lord, and all property obtained by such villein in any occupation which his lord allowed him to follow belonged to the said lord, and was at his disposal. It was, however, for the interest of the lord to grant to their villeins in gross (*Leibeigenen*), as many as were not employed in the house, a dwelling, land and cattle, in return for which the villein paid contributions of produce, domestic animals, tools, raw material for clothing, or ready-made articles of dress from shirts to shoes. This class of villeins, the most numerous of the personally unfree, were not on an equality with the villeins regardant, but enjoyed many advantages with them. The lot of the villeins menial was not so favorable; its redeeming feature was that the German character also prized and honored fidelity and attachment to the family even in the humblest servant. Thus, interest on one side, and German customs and the German disposition on the other, made the state of the villein (*Leibeigene*) more endurable among those whom the educated Greeks and Romans styled barbarians.



although law and custom gave these barbarians the same unlimited power over their villsins in gross (*Leibeigenen*) that the Greeks and Romans had over their slaves.

The *freedmen* had political rights approximating to those of the free. Individuals were set free as a reward for special fidelity and service; whole bodies were set free in times of external danger, when arms were given them as a kind of levy *en masse*, or *Landsturm*. It sometimes happened, too, that in their civil wars a tribe offered to submit on condition of retaining their property with the rights of freedmen, and that the victors accepted these offers rather than prolong the war. Industrious villsins often bought their freedom with their savings.

The freedmen fell into two classes. One class were those who, after being set free and in possession of an estate, still remained under the protection of their previous lords, and therefore owed them rent and service. The other class were independent every way. The rights of these freedmen were different among the Saxons, Franks, Goths, and Alemanni. The freedmen of the first class were called by the Saxons *Lazzen* or *Lassen*; by the Franks and Alemanni, *Lite* (*Leute*). We must also distinguish from these the *Vassi* or *vassals*. They could be either freedmen or free-born; a free-born girl could marry a man of either class without derogating from her freedom. Both classes had the same *weregild*, the compensation for injury to person or honor, and it usually amounted to half the *weregild* of the fully-free. Both classes had the right of arms, could give and demand satisfaction for injuries, and had the right of feud, that is, the right to take armed reprisals for any wrong, if the compensation awarded by law did not satisfy them. Both classes could make contracts, and be witnesses of the contracts of free men.

The chief difference between the fully-free and the not fully-free lay in this: that the latter, in the first centuries, had no voice in the popular assembly, whether of the *Gau* or district or of the country. They were only listeners, not voters. Only they who were quite independent, in possession of a thoroughly free property, could speak or vote in these meetings.

Thus in the oldest days of the Germans only the minority of the fully-free constituted the People; they alone formed the community, whether of the *Gau* or the country. There was not a distinction between lords and people, but between independent landed proprietors and those who were not so. Consequently, not descent from free parents, nor ability to bear arms, gave the German a voice in the public meeting and the right to sit and judge in the judicial diets, but the possession of a landed estate such that he could live thereby, no regard being paid as to how he acquired possession. The ancient German principle was that the possession of an independent living was the first condition to be fulfilled by all who took part in debate or resolution respecting public affairs. They feared that the man who depended for his living on another could be easily induced to speak and vote as was pleasing to the man in whose service he was, or on whom he was dependent. In the case of a son, the formal partition and conveyance by the father of an estate sufficient to insure an independent position and fit maintenance was required to give

him a right of voting in the assembly; the mere assumption of the son as a joint-tenant in the estate was not sufficient.

Passages in the writings of Cæsar and Tacitus have led to the supposition that originally all land without distinction was held in common, without any private property. The account we have just given shows how unfounded this supposition is. The annual change of usufructuaries which is spoken of by the Romans was not a change of dwellings or corn-land by an annual redistribution of the soil, but a change "in the use of the arable and fallow lands of one and the same landed proprietor—a two years' course of husbandry." Such is the conclusion of Waitz and Wackernagel.

In every German Mark there always existed alongside the private domains a large extent of *Waste* which was unplowed. This was inevitable in the early days when tending cattle was more liked than tillage; and therefore the extensive pastures, meadows, and forests, were held in common, every member of the community having a right of common of pasture and of mast. These pasture grounds could neither be plowed nor mowed. But these pastures alone did not form the Allmand (Allmende, Allmeinde), or, as it is otherwise called, the Common Mark, there were belonging to it rivers and streams, fish and fowl, game and bees of the forest. "Meinde" is in old German the plural of "Mand," and "Allmand" is the whole property accessible to all men, to everybody. The word is not connected with "Alm," a pasture-land in South Germany. Pasture for his cattle, wood, and water, with all therein, were freely enjoyed by every one who dwelt in his own house and had his own meadow, arable and garden, and those who were unfree had the same rights of common in the Allmand as the fully-free had. Not till the century immediately preceding the Reformation did the lords of manors, whether princes, counts, knights, squires, or citizens, rob the poor man of his rights; from this date he was forbidden to gather honey in the forest, or catch birds or fish. Liberty to hunt was taken from him in legal fashion, that is, in the fashion by which old rights are abolished by those who have the power. We need not go far back in history to see wrong perpetrated in due form of law by interested or one-sided assemblies.

The lowest political unit was a union of one hundred Hufen or Hydes. A hyde meant an enclosed piece of arable land, and was finally taken as a piece of arable land that could be worked with a pair of horses. As a rule, it contained thirty acres. The acre—a customary superficial measure for land under or fit for tillage—varied in various parts of Germany. This union of one hundred hydes formed the commune. The property of the commune, demesne, and waste formed the Mark. The union of several communes for mutual protection formed the Gau or Shire. The tribe inhabiting a Gau had its own name, either derived from the Gau or transferred to the Gau. The Gau was divided into hundreds, consisting of several villages. If several Gaue or tribes formed a league, such a union was called a confederation (Eidgenossenschaft). Each Gau retained and jealously maintained its independence. And herein lay the weak point of the German nation in the case of attacks from abroad. Hence it was

so difficult for the German peoples to become a nation, and close up into the unity of one great German state.

The nobles were looked up to by the other freemen, but had no privileges. They were preferred in elections, but had no more rights than the other freemen. The judges of the communes were usually chosen from the nobility, and the leaders in war generally taken from it unless some simple freeman was pre-eminent by his courage and heroism; the tribes among whom kingly power existed chose their kings from the nobility alone. A noble might have more extensive landed possessions than the other freemen; he possessed no more extensive rights.

The nobility (Athelings) was not an estate separate from the free Commons, as it afterwards became, but the nobles were members of the Commune like other freemen. The respect paid them rested on their descent from heroes who had distinguished themselves in old time, and whose names, floating in the mists of song and saga, survived in the grateful remembrance of later generations. The greater the power was which the old sagas, thrown into poetic form by their bards, had on the mood of the old Germans, the more frequently the songs at the festive board recalled these sagas, the more vivid were the feelings with which they regarded the descendants of heroes. On this account, but on this account alone, the *weregild* of a noble was higher than that of other freemen.

On all the institutions of the German tribes, the democratic stamp is so deeply impressed that there can be no doubt that the oldest constitution in Germany was liberal and popular. It remained so in a number of tribes till the Frank empire arose and extended over their territories. Where royalty was established, the power of the nobles was much restricted. There was no such thing among the Germans as absolute monarchical power till the Papacy promoted it by its sanction. The king differed little in dress from other freemen, and had not the insignia which were usually assigned to royal dignity—the crown, sceptre, and royal robe. The king received presents only, not fixed tribute, and a larger share in the spoils of war. He had precedence and the executive power; he was the military, not the judicial head. Such kings as united in their own person the judicial and military powers did not appear till the great conquering expeditions. The kings, however, had opportunity to increase their own possessions by conquest, as not only a larger share of the booty, but also a larger share of the conquered territory was given them. Thus the large private property of the kings was gradually gathered. A similar increase of property was obtained by those nobles or those freemen who were the temporary leaders or dukes of the military expeditions. For these chiefs of campaigns received after victory a greater portion of the booty and the conquered land.

Although the duke chosen for the duration of the war had, after the end of the war, to lay down his dignity and return to the station he had previously occupied as noble or freeman, yet a successful expedition with its booty, increased territory, and fame, gave him a higher standing through the augmentation of his movable and real property and the respect paid to him. Hence it came to pass that ambitious

men endeavored, by means of this increase in wealth and reputation, to retain in peace the power they had held during war, and to make themselves, as far as possible, rulers or lords of their equals the freemen. We have seen, in the course of this history, how the oldest hereditary enemy of the Germans, the Roman empire, found it to its interest to suggest, support, and favor such endeavors to create princedoms on free German soil. We have seen the rise and fall of Marbod; we have seen Segestes and other princes, and the continued efforts of foreign powers to break the power of German free institutions and to weaken Germany by bringing popular liberty under the power of princely rule. We have seen how this change took place in that great German stock which styled itself Frank or "Free," by means of the policy of the Papal court.

Royalty appeared and continued in a German people only when that people was convinced that, in regard to foreign affairs, it was more advantageous to leave the guidance of all their forces in the hands of him who had approved himself in war, in order that the whole people might be strong to resist foreign attacks. The necessity for this arrangement dictated to some races the sacrifice of their innate repugnance to every kind of sovereign. But even in this case, the German feeling that it was against nature to be subject to any lord, restricted the prerogatives of their elected chief, even when they gave him the name and dignity of king. No king on German soil ever succeeded in making his power hereditary in the sense in which we speak to-day of hereditary monarchy; even Charles the Great, great as he was and long as he reigned, never changed the elective royalty into the hereditary royalty; and this fact proves more than all others that hatred of absolute monarchy was one of the deepest principles of the Germans, who had understanding enough to foresee that hereditary monarchy, in which the eldest son was always successor of the father, must injure popular liberty and the principle of popular election, because circumstances might render it easy for the hereditary monarch to turn himself into the absolute monarch. They therefore maintained and never renounced the right to elect their king, and even if they kept to the king's house when possible, yet it was lawful to elect therefrom any member they chose, by no means the eldest son alone, but even the youngest son, or nephew, or even a distant relative; and if no member of the royal house was fit for the royal office, they had full power to elect by a majority of voices any freeman as their chief. The king, as general in the field, had more power and authority in war; in peace he required, in all important matters, the assent of the representatives of the people.

These kings by popular election had no court, no body-guard in the modern sense of the words. Marbod is an exception; but these institutions, utterly foreign to German notions, were not introduced among a German people till the days of Clovis, the prince of a conquering army, and the baptized king of the Franks. The king had a right to a retinue or body of followers. But this was no peculiar privilege of the king. This was a right possessed by every chief, every noble, every freeman rich enough to take into his service brave fellows, or who had such a name and fame that

gallant men flocked and clung to him. This primitive right of every man, even if he were no more than the free baron or free-man of the Middle Ages, is exhibited to us at the extinction of medieval freedom and the dawn of the new epoch, in the case of Francis of Sickingen, the simple knight, who was lord of so many lordships and castles, who had in his service more nobles and freemen as retainers owing service to him, than many an elector and duke of the Holy Roman Empire could boast. But these retainers of the wealthy knight formed no court or life-guard, and in like manner the followers of an ancient German king formed no life-guard or court. These arose in later days when the royal power had slowly built itself up. The struggles of the kings to extend their powers first called into being a court aristocracy, and the two together worked injury to the freedom of the commons; the latter waned in exact proportion to the waxing of the former.

The elected chiefs who stood as judges at the head of the Gau or Shire were called Fürsten or princes; in war they were the commanders of the forces furnished by the Gau. The duke (Herzog, Heretoch), elected for the duration of the war, commanded the united troops of a tribe. The princes of the Gau (the shirereeves or sheriffs) formed "a narrower council" of their tribe, which executed matters of slight importance, and discussed preliminarily those affairs on which the public assembly of the people had to decide.

There were meetings of each community, township meetings, in which all free members of a village or pre-

cinct had the right and duty to appear; meetings of Hundreds, or districts containing at least one hundred farms or houses. Above these was the meeting of all the freemen of the Gau, the folkmoot, shiremoot or county meeting. In the township meetings the internal affairs of a village and its outlying farms were transacted; in the meetings of the hundreds was discussed and debated all that concerned the rights and peace of the villages composing the hundreds; in the meeting of the Gau all business connected with the Gau was transacted, crimes involving capital punishment, laws binding the whole Gau, decisions respecting peace and war, approval of plans of a campaign, the election or deposition of kings, princes and generals.

The meetings were held in the open air, sometimes by day, more often by night, at a consecrated spot, under a consecrated oak or linden, or near a large stone which was called Malstatt or *Thing* (still retained in the English word *Hustings*, *Housething*); that is, the place of conference. The meetings of townships and hundreds

took place once a month, sometimes twice a month, at the holy time of the new moon, or of the new and full moon. The meetings of the Gau or shire were, as a rule, held three times a year, at the times of the three great feasts—the feast of Yule at Christmas, during the twelve longest and darkest nights of the winter solstice; the feast of Easter at the vernal equinox in the German North, or of the summer solstice on the day of St. John Baptist in Southern Germany; and the feast of autumn, which afterwards became the Church wake, or commemoration of the dedication of the church of the district. At these feasts the population used to meet to offer sacrifice and give thanks, and to pray for continuance of internal peace. The maintenance of order in the meeting during the discussion and decision of the matters brought before them, devolved on the man who had the dignity of chief-priest.

As the Germans were pre-eminently a warlike nation, it was of the utmost importance to elect the best man as their military leader; and hence it resulted that a simple freeman could be elected commander of the army in time of war, if by his military talents and courage he inspired more confidence than the king did, and that the king, during the continuance of the war, had to be subordinate to the simple freeman who had the supreme command. The inferior commanders of the army were the elected chieftains of the hundreds, at whose election care was taken that they should be as fit for commanders in war as for judges in peace. All who had right to bear arms, without respect to possession of landed property, were bound to serve in war. Universal military service is the primitive German principle. The only exceptions to the obligation were old age, sickness, or non-age.

During the first six centuries, the strength of a German army lay in the foot-soldiers; the horsemen often dismounted and fought on foot. "In their mode of warfare," writes General Peucker, "they followed two simple but sound tactical principles. The first was to take the initiative in the attack, the second was to concentrate an overpowering force on the chief point of attack. The arrangement of their columns of attack by hundreds, townships and families gave them an organization which, skilfully used, was essentially favorable to the hand to hand encounter which followed the first collision."

Every freeman or freedman, in every case of injury threatening himself or any member of his family, in life, body, property, honor or liberty, was in possession of the right of self-defence; he could by his own arms, or with the assistance of his armed kinsmen, attack the injurer, and compel him to give such satisfaction as seemed according to his, the injured party's valuation, befitting the greatness of the injury or insult. This was called the right of "Feud" (Faida or Fehde).

This right, it must be allowed, was of a nature to destroy order and peace in a township or shire when it became united with the Asiatic idea of vengeance for blood. This custom, springing up in the rudest times and religions, held it as a pious duty for the survivors to take bloody vengeance for the slaughter of a near kinsman, and this duty was hereditary till the spirit of the dead man was appeased, that is, till blood had appeased blood.

The necessity of internal peace and the progress of moral feeling had succeeded, even before the introduction of Christianity, in limiting by legal restrictions the right of feud and the vengeance for blood which were keeping up a kind of warfare of one family against another. Hence the "weregild" was extended to cases in which blood used to be demanded. "Wer" is in the old dialect "a man capable of bearing arms," and weregild, the payment made in compensation.

The weregild was a fixed indemnification for all injuries to life or limb, honor or property. In the old times, when minted money was not current, the weregild consisted of cattle, produce, or other pieces of property. The object of the institution of a weregild was to lessen the number of cases in which the right of taking satisfaction was allowed to the great detriment of the common peace. The law, therefore, fixed the sums to be paid as indemnity by the offender; the amount of the sum depended on the value of the object, and the rank and birth of the party injured and the party injuring. The high esteem entertained for women is shown, among other things, in the gradations of the weregild. For injuries to a woman the law imposed a penalty of twice or thrice the amount of damage. A higher indemnity had to be paid for damage to a noble than to a freeman, and more for damage to a freeman than to a non-freeman. A woman, if she committed any injury, had to pay less indemnity than a man in like case, and a freeman less than one unfree.

The injured party had the option of taking or refusing the legal indemnity; but the injurer had not the option of offering the legal indemnity or letting the matter be ended by feud or blood vengeance. The injurer was compelled to submit to the expiation demanded by the law, for the amount paid as weregild did not belong wholly to the injured party; a portion of it fell to the king or the community as a compensation for the breach of the peace. The highest weregild was paid for murder. Whoever was not in a position to pay the imposed penalty could summon his kindred to contribute the amount; for the whole kindred was by law bound to be sureties for the weregild of one of their kin, and to furnish it if he could not do so himself. This last legal enactment that all members of a family were liable for the weregild of each individual, was calculated to diminish the number of murders, as it made it the interest of the family to hinder all attempts at murders rather than to have to pay the heavy weregild, or, in case the kin of the murdered man preferred feud to taking the indemnity, to have to enter on tedious hostilities. For if the kin of the slain commenced the feud, the kin of the slayer was compelled to defend him and themselves. The two families then entered upon a family war, in which both parties saw one member after another fall a sacrifice to the feud, and which usually ended with the destruction of one family, as we have seen was the case in the old house of Babenburg. It was an unfortunate circumstance that the indemnity had to be paid, not to the nearest lawful heir alone, but to be divided between him and other relatives. Thus the brothers of the slain could reject the indemnity even if the son would have been willing to accept it, and then the hostilities of vengeance for blood began.

Nevertheless, if both the offender and his kindred were unable to pay the indem-

nity, he could not be deprived of his freedom or expelled from his house. The house was sacred. A heavy weregild was imposed for any injury to the rights of house and home. Any injury committed against a man in his house was punished more severely than if done to him out of his house.

To prevent the extension of the blood-vengeance and feud, the law, in addition to the weregild, sanctioned another method—wager of battle, or legal single combat. In it no *nidingswerk*, no foul blow or trick, was permitted; the accuser and accused had to go through with it honorably, and when the combat was ended further vengeance was not allowed.

Wager of battle is not to be confounded with the modern duel. The latter is punishable by law and illegal; the former was a legal institution. The legal wager of battle belonged to the class of ordeals or judgments of God. The ordeal was based on the religious belief of the German peoples, not only in the old days of heathenism, but throughout the whole Middle Ages. The heathen Germans believed that their gods loved the truth; that in grievous cases, when other testimony was not forthcoming, divine power would manifest the guilt or innocence of the accused; the gods of truth would allow the innocent to conquer, the guilty to fall.

In the oldest period, wager of battle was most commonly adopted; but along with it existed other kinds of judgments of God. Such was the ordeal by water, which was subdivided into the ordeal by hot water and the ordeal by cold water. In the former case, the accused person had to take out with bare arm a ring or stone from a kettle full of boiling water. If he received no injury, he was deemed innocent. In the second case of ordeal by cold water, the accused was thrown into the water with a rope about his body; if he sank, he was innocent; if he floated, it was held to be a proof of guilt. Water was a holy element in the old German religion, and the heathen belief was that the holy element would not receive into its bosom any evil-doer.

We ought not to smile at the practices of our heathen forefathers, when we remember that down into the eighteenth century the Christian church used, more extensively and horribly, this old heathen proof of innocence in the trials of witches; the Christian law, after fifteen centuries, was no wiser than the natural law of the heathen German; the innocent woman, whom hatred or malice, stupidity or superstition, both in Protestant and Catholic countries, accused of magic or witch-



craft, was slowly lowered into a stream or pond with the thumbs and great toes tied together crosswise; if she did not sink entirely, the Christian law declared her convicted.

Ordeal by fire seems, from the elder Edda, to have been a heathen institution. Yet it only gives one instance, where a king, suspecting a stranger to be a magician, places him between two fires, and brings them gradually nearer to him to force out a confession; Odin, however, comes and rescues him. The other methods of ordeal by fire seem to be connected with the times of Christianity. Proofs of innocence were: To sustain without injury burning coals on the naked foot; to walk through fire; to hold the naked hand in the fire and withdraw it uninjured; to walk barefoot in nothing but a shirt over red-hot masses of iron, or to carry such in the bare hand a certain distance without injury. All these forms of judgments of God by fire are found in the Middle Ages, but all bearing the marks of Christian origin; undoubtedly we may attribute to priestcraft the ordeal of the bier. In the ordeal of the bier, that person was held to be the murderer at whose touch the corpse stretched on the bier began to bleed.

For persons in whose cases wager of battle was inapplicable—for women and old men—another form of ordeal was used in the heathen period: The accused and accuser had to stand without motion with their hand raised up to the bough of a holy tree; whose hand first sank was deemed guilty. This custom, too, was transferred from heathenism to Christianity. The Church changed the holy tree of the forest into the Christian cross; she placed those undergoing the ordeal in the church beneath the crucifix with arms outspread. The evil practices of the heathens were not repudiated by the Christian priesthood, but perpetuated and increased. To the same class belong the ordeal of the *corsnead* or needbread, the eating of which without injury was a proof of innocence, and the ordeal by the Eucharist, partaking of which without injury to the partaker, was a demonstration of innocence.

Together with the judgment of God, when other proofs were wanting, a solemn oath was held to be a proof of innocence; the blood relations of the accused being required to swear that his oath was the oath of a true man. Perjury was so rare among the heathen Germans that no penalty is provided for it in their laws; the punishment was left to the gods. "Cruel fetters follow the false oath; unblessed is the oath-breaker," says the elder Edda. Until the Romish priesthood corrupted them, the Germans thought that an actual evil-doer could not obtain among his kindred by blood the legally required number of compurgators; they felt sure that the nearest and dearest relatives would not be induced to help a man whose guilt seemed probable, by confirming his oath of innocence by their own oaths before the eyes and in the ears of all the people.

For every legal act was public and oral. Sales, contracts, and such like, were transacted in public by word of mouth. The accused who did not appear at the third summons and submit to the decision of the tribunal, was declared "out of the peace," that is, in contempt; any one could attack or put him to death with impunity.

The courts were held in the open air; not because they had no buildings large enough for judicial purposes—they could have erected halls for justice as well as halls for feasts—but the courts were held in the open air, generally in a wood, because the sound common sense of the ancient Germans considered publicity indispensable in all legal affairs. At the execution of any punishment, all who belonged to the township or hundred gathered together at the township court or hundred court. From this public transaction of all legal matters, good results were attained. Publicity rendered it more easy to discover the truth and the real facts of the case. Where all those who belonged to the mark or township in which the crime was committed had to be present at the court, each man who knew anything of the matter as an eye-witness, or who had heard the attendant circumstances from another, could be heard, and a correct judgment be formed. Publicity, too, spread among the people a knowledge of the law, and educated them for public life. Publicity, too, was a certain guarantee of impartial administration of the law.

Ordinary courts, that is, those that fell on the regular times for the public meeting, were called “unbidden”; the extraordinary courts for particular cases to which individuals were “bidden” to come, were called “bidden courts.” The penalty of death was inflicted for high treason, desertion to the enemy, cowardice in battle, and unnatural crime. Corporal punishments, such as flogging or mutilation, were exceptionally inflicted for infamous acts; imprisonment, never. For all other crimes or misdemeanors there was a weregild, which was purposely made very high in many cases.

The German laws remained unwritten for centuries after they had the knowledge of letters, and after Ulphilas had translated the Bible. The laws were handed down by tradition in short maxims and in the Runic characters, which were little adapted to express conceptions of law. The Runes, inscribed in wood, as was usually the case, or in stone when greater permanence was desired, were very defective as a vehicle of law. The laws, however, were deeply engraven in the memory of the people, because the fundamental principles of the law were simple and brief, clear and easy of comprehension by all. These first principles of German law, passing in living words from generation to generation in concise maxims or proverbs, were as current and as much revered as the texts learned now-a-days from the Catechism or in the Sunday-school. The wealth of these German maxims of law and proverbial jurisprudence is shown in the collections formed since the close of the Middle Ages, especially the three works which have appeared in the last twenty years, the collections of Graf-Dietherr, Hillebrand, and Körte.

The German law was originally a general law for all German races in all important cases. Little as they were politically united, different as were the dialects of the south and north, of the east and west, and divergent as was their tongue in pronunciation and declension, they were all, every race and every tribe, at one in their principles of law, and this whether they remained settled in their old homes or had settled as conquerors in far-distant lands abroad, under heavens as different as those of England, Spain, Italy, and Africa. Even the turmoil of the Great Migrations, which

obliterated cities of ancient magnificence like Aquileia and others, which changed the possessions, the modes of life, the customs of the Germans, and scattered German tribes far from their old German land; even the new religion, Christianity, till it became priest-ridden, was not able to change, much less to extinguish, the unity of the general German law, and the permanence of the sacred principles of German law. East Goths and West Goths, English and Alemannian, Saxon, Lombard, and Frank agreed not only in their fundamental principles but even in the details of their system of law.

The first and greatest changes in the old German law appear among the Franks after their conquests in Gaul. King Clovis had assumed to himself over the conquered Romanic population the same absolute power which the Roman emperors had exercised, and soon endeavored to extend his claim of absolute rule over the Franks as well. The Church aided him. The eastern tribes, the Alemanni, Thuringians, Burgundians, were the first on whom Clovis imposed absolute monarchy after he had conquered and annexed them; he crushed them under his sway; he lorded over these Germans who hitherto had known only kings by popular election, as their chiefs with limited powers, with the same plenitude of consecrated and anointed royalty with which he lorded over the Romanic inhabitants of Gaul. The Franks were pleased to see their adversaries, the Alemanni and Burgundians, subject to them, to see their own Frankish brethren, the Thuringians, deprived of their independence and their own kings, annexed to them, but annexed with less liberty and less rights. The proud, rude Franks of Clovis never thought that the absolute power of an anointed king which was imposed on their foes could be extended over themselves, or else they thought themselves strong enough to protect themselves from all such attempts. The Church, however, who instilled in the new converts blind faith in her teaching, thought it for her interest to accustom these Franks to subjection, to the acceptance of a royalty with unlimited power. The Church never acted for the interests of liberty; where she took part in favor of popular liberty, it became clear that her sordid struggles were directed to the interests of her own priestly power. Wherever it was possible she sought to establish the absolute power of the throne and the altar.

The priesthood gradually detached one portion after another from popular liberty among the Franks, and transferred it to a kingly power of the new Roman stamp, and dependent on her. The anointed king, who used to live as an elected king in the middle of his people, became raised by the priests high above the people. The popular representatives in the national assembly of all freemen had previously debated and decided all questions of peace and war; under priestly influences, the royal prerogative was so extended that, no longer the representatives of the people, but the king alone, had to decide on peace or war. Treaties and alliances had been referred hitherto to the determination of all free Franks; the management of these affairs was now claimed by the priesthood for the king. The king hitherto had only the chief command in war, and had, if the freemen elected any other as their leader, to be subject to his orders during the campaign; he now became the military lord; he summoned and collected the army. In the place of the court of the folkmete or shire-

mote, there was now the court of the king. All punishments, all matters higher than the hundred court, were taken from the court of the shire, and given to the court of the king. The people retained jurisdiction only in those cases which by ancient law were referred to the courts of the village, the township, or the hundred; and even here the arm of the anointed king intruded. The summons to these courts no longer ran "in the name and by the authority" of the community, but "in the name of the king and his authority." For some time the presidents of these courts remained elected by the people, but the execution of the sentence of the courts, even in instances where it had belonged to the community, was now appropriated by the king. The execution of the sentence was carried out by royal officers.

To inflict the punishment of outlawry, was for centuries a right of the popular meetings; but this, too, was taken from the people and transferred to the king. The administrative officers previously chosen by the people were now nominated by the king, the highest as well as the lowest, the Graf or Gerefa (from the Gaelic word Gerefa, an attendant, whence in Latin the term *graf* is always represented by *comes* or count), the representatives of the Gau or sheriffs, the governors of the provinces of the kingdom, the burgomasters of the cities, and the heads even of villages. Soon the king imposed taxes on all freemen for the erection or maintenance of fortresses, streets, bridges and such like works. Those who refused to pay were punished by the king. Whoever was guilty of any contempt of a royal official was fined by the king; a still heavier fine was laid on those guilty of contempt of the king, his person or his rights. The priesthood extended continually the king's prerogatives at the cost of the freedom of the people, and the king was the servant of the Church, and did his best to bring the people under her rule. This anti-Christian deification of kingship and priesthood by the mutual exertions of both parties, made progress in the Frank kingdom; and right soon, two things utterly foreign to German ideas were smuggled in—the doctrine of the *majestas* of the king, and the doctrine of the *majestas* of the priest. That crime, which did not exist in ancient usage or in the first codes of German law, the crime of *lèse majesté* was gradually introduced by the priests into German jurisprudence. It had not the full definition which it had received in the Roman empire of Constantinople, but yet it made all offences against king or priest, against throne or altar, the heaviest kind of offence. From offences to which the free German nature was easily inclined, the priesthood and the king drew revenue. The offence of *lèse majesté* either against priest or king was punished by loss of all the criminal's property.

When the German people saw how the royal power kept making inroads on the liberties of the people, how the king behaved as though the king were the people and the court the state, they hastened to exchange their popular traditional rights for written laws. This was the case at all events with the municipal law, the private law, which they thus sought to protect from any invasion by the king or his officers. The recording of this old law was necessary to the freeman as a protection against those who struggled for an unlimited monarchy, and who wished to crush them down into the same subject state in which the Gallic or Romanic peoples of the Roman

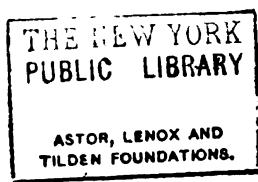
empire lived. For the Germans still felt themselves free men, and they were "the subjects of no human being."

The first German race that committed to writing its laws was that of the West Goths in the fifth century; the next to do so were the Salian Franks. The record of their laws and rights may be assigned to the last decade of the fifth century; some writers refer it even to the period before Clovis. But the older supposition that the compilation was made under Clovis, appears the better grounded; after he with many of his Franks was baptized, the "written Salic law" was revised by the Christian priests. Changes and additions were made, under the pretext of taking account of sundry relations which in heathen times were disregarded. But at the same time the interpolations tended to increase the power of the "anointed and crowned king."

The later Merovingian kings, Childebert and Chlotar (Lothaire), made further interpolations and changes, which they and their courtiers called improvements.

That it was the people and not the king who first committed to writing the old laws, is proved by the fact that permission so to do was granted at first to the Salian Franks alone. The Ripuarian Franks, the other great branch of the Frank stem, did not record their laws till the days of Theodorich (Thierry), the son of Clovis. The people extorted the privilege from the king. But this privilege which the king of the Franks could not withhold from the Salian Franks, he and the priesthood together did withhold for many years from the other German races who had been annexed to the kingdom of the Franks. The Frank monarch, indeed, did not venture to deprive the Burgundians of what they already possessed, their own written code of law. In the first years of the sixth century, the Burgundians had obtained from their king Gundobald the right of committing to written records the old Burgundian law; and, after the loss of the independence of the Burgundian kingdom, the Franks left the Burgundians this written law; but, in the year 517, the priesthood and the king united in revising this old code. But this recording of their national laws and privileges was still for a long time withheld from the German tribes who had been conquered and were subject to the Franks—from the Alemanni, the Bavarians, the Thuringians—until circumstances were such that the Frank king had reason to yield to the demands of these Eastern Germans. Hence the Alemannian laws were not committed to writing till the last quarter of the sixth century; the Bavarian, not till the beginning of the seventh century; the Thuringian, not till the time of Charles the Great. The Saxon code was not written down till later.

These written codes have all come down to us, but, unfortunately, not in their original form, which must have been in the German language. It is beyond doubt that the Germans, when demanding the committal to writing of their popular laws, would admit no other language than the German; their object was to protect themselves and their laws against the attacks or encroachments of royal officials and of royalty itself, as well as against the wiles and intrigues of the priesthood. The Anglo-Saxon laws, alone of all the numerous German codes of laws, have come down to us in a German dialect; all the others are preserved in Latin.





An explanation of this fact has been sought in an assumption that the German language was then not a literary language, and therefore not adapted to express legal ideas. But surely, if the German of England was well enough adapted to express the Anglo-Saxon laws, the German of the Saxons and Alemanni must have been equally fit to record Saxon and Alemannic law; while, on the contrary, the Latin language, which was formed to express relations quite different from any in Germany, was least of all adapted to give the correct expression of the spirit of the primitive legal maxims of Germany.

We see at the close of the Middle Ages what abuses arose when the king, the nobility, the priesthood conspired in rendering German legal ideas by the Latin expressions of the Roman law; propositions of law made for the Roman empire were extracted from the *Corpus Juris* and applied to German customs, to benefit the aristocracy and injure the people. Here is the key to the use of Latin in the old German codes; the Latin manuscripts of the Salic law differ from each other, and Frank words show between the Latin. It was for the interest of the king, and of the aristocracy spiritual and temporal, to translate into Latin, that is, into a tongue "not understood of the people," the old law books originally compiled in German, and to place these translations in the room of the gradually disused German editions, in order to rob the Commons of their rights, to gain privileges for themselves, to oppose and hinder the participation of the people in public affairs, nay, to abolish by these means the knowledge among the people of their rights.

The introductions to these Latin translations of the German codes, show that the priests were the actual translators. The Salic law in a MS. of the ninth century begins with the words, "Honor to the famous nation of the Franks, established by the will of God, valiant in war, faithful in peace and in covenant, wise in council, noble of form, brave, skilful and stout in battle, converted to the Catholic faith, pure from heresy. *Vivat Christus*, who loves the Franks. May He guard their empire, and fill their chiefs with the light of His grace! May He protect their army and manifest his wonders," etc., etc.

Bishop Ulphilas, the West Goth, had translated the Bible for the Goths of the fourth century, and the German of this translation, which, on account of its agreement in rendering the sense of the text with the German version of Luther, is still a marvel—this German shows that it was sufficient to render in written records the old German laws and customs. And yet the written law of the West Goths was transferred to the Latin language in the fifth century. In this case the Roman clergy had no hand in the matter. The West Goths were Arians without priestcraft. But they had marched as conquerors from the east of Europe to the farthest west of that hemisphere. They had settled as conquerors in southwestern France, Spain and Portugal. In this career of conquest royalty had developed itself among the West Goths once so free. To strengthen the royal power on the one hand, on the other the attempt, not to place the Romanic subjects and the West Gothic conquerors under one and the same legal system, but to make the West Gothic law intelligible to the Romanic



population, these were the two reasons for the translation of the West Gothic law into Latin having been made at so early a period ; clearly co-ordinate with a German edition. When the priesthood of Rome conquered even in the West Gothic dominions, it became the interest of the king and clergy to disuse the German code, and make the Latin version the authorized one. The king thus was, by the doctrines and language of Rome, by the priesthood and the Latin tongue, enabled to extend over the German traditions of freedom his claims and pretensions to despotic power.

The East Goths, indeed, when they founded their kingdom in Italy and the adjacent districts, had adopted the Roman law, because in these regions it was the national law of five-sixths of the inhabitants, and the East Gothic princes hoped, by this adoption of the same laws, to effect with less difficulty a fusion of the Romanic and German populations. This was the case before Theodorich the Great, in the first quarter of the sixth century, published in Latin his new constitution for the nations subject to him. In this compilation the royal power was extended in various directions.

But neither in the kingdom of the East Goths nor in the other kingdoms founded by the Germans did uniformity of law produce the fusion of the different nationalities into a national unity. Not merely the difference of religious confession, the gulf between the Catholic and the Arian, prevented the growth of the Gothic and Romanic peoples into one, but German haughtiness, which the Franks exhibited to a much higher degree than the Goths. The national pride of the Germans saw in their Romanic subjects beings of a lower order, and the law written in the language of the conquered did not measure law equally for the two nations. The same crime committed on a Frank was punished twice as heavily as when it was committed on a Roman. The murder of a Roman involved the penalty of one hundred solidi, that of a Frank two hundred solidi ; and in all the clauses the Germans had twice the wergild of the Roman. Nay, the pride of the Franks was so great that in the Frank codes only four-fifths of the wergild of a Frank was assigned to the Alemanni and Bavarians who were subjects of the Frank king.

The German conquests produced a great change in the number of freemen. Their number had increased in the course of centuries, in spite of the multitudes consumed in war and battle. For the free natives were, so far as they were not prisoners of war, left by the Germans in possession of their freedom. The number of free-born landed proprietors, that is, of men fully-free, was swelled by the grants of land to crowds of younger sons who had no independent property at first, but who had won it by military service. When a country was conquered, the victorious army usually took for itself a portion of the landed property, as well as the private domains and powers of the Roman emperor ; it granted another portion as a reward of valor to the nobles and free-born soldiers, and left a third portion, which generally consisted of the cities, in the possession of the conquered, but subject to tribute.

The portion of the conquered country with which the valor of the freemen was rewarded, was divided among them by lot. What each man received was his *Allo-*

dium, his independent hereditary property, for which he had no service to perform but to follow the standard when a general levy was proclaimed.

Those who had gone to the war with a following, in turn granted a portion of their allodial lands as a reward to their followers; such land was an hereditary freehold. But as it depended entirely on the caprice of the princes of the army and of the chiefs of followers to decide how much of the landed property allotted to the former from the conquered lands was given as his portion to each individual chief, and how much of this portion so allotted was given by each chief to his followers, there arose great inequality in possessions among the freemen. One family had a large, another a small estate; neglect or recklessness diminished the extent and value of the property in some cases, while in others the value of the property was increased by careful husbandry, which produced more abundant crops, and accumulated by economy, by a wise use of opportunities for buying, by a succession of owners who distinguished themselves in the service of the community, and had their reward in additional assignments of land.

Thus arose the wealth of the nobles and the freemen, and at the same time inequalities.

When the Frank kings arose and aimed at absolutism, they sought to make themselves independent of the freemen. The latter had the privilege of discussing all state affairs, especially war and the conduct of the war. The crown was bound to their consent. To gain room for freer action, to gain in opposition to the free proprietors a new support in their struggle for the independence of the crown, the kings proceeded to choose the officers of the court and state, not as previously, exclusively from the fully-free, but from the middle and half-free classes, and finally almost entirely from these two last classes. This was first done in the case of the offices of the court, and then many state offices were transferred to these court-officers. The king thus gained possession of almost all the official posts in the kingdom, not merely of offices about the court, but in the administration and the army. The nomination of bishops and other spiritual dignitaries was also reserved to the crown of the newly-established Frank kingdom.

The creation of court and state officers gave the Frank kings opportunity to form a party devoted to them among all classes even among the unfree. Every freeman who accepted any office under the king divested himself thereby of his previous free independence—the new official entered into the “service” of the king. By thus drawing into his service the half-free and unfree classes, the king acquired a devoted party, strong in numbers and in intellectual endowments, which he could oppose to the fully-free landed proprietors, the freeholders; and hence he had a better prospect of freeing the royal power from the limitations imposed by that class. Intellectual endowments were, then even less than now, united with high birth, and yet some learning was indispensable for the government service, especially in the finances, and the men at the desk were mightier than the men of the sword. The proud warriors long held back from those studies which fit men for administration in times

of peace. Even when Charles the Great urged his military aristocracy to study these arts, they were still remiss in so doing, and the emperor saw himself compelled to take his officials wherever he found ability, without regard to birth and rank; and the same was the case to a greater degree with the kings before him.

Thus not only freedmen but even villeins who had brains and a quick pen rose to be royal officers. Leudas, the count of Tours, had been a villein and a scullion-boy; he obtained a little learning, ran away, was captured, ran away again, and when a second time retaken had an ear cut off. This did not hinder his becoming the king's marshal, and finally Count of Tours.

Office was attended, too, with honors. The official who thus rose from non-freedom to freedom, had the same respect paid to him as was paid to the free-born. Both were alike servants of the king; due acknowledgment of his position and his orders could not be withheld, because he in person was a representative of the king; contempt of his office was heavily punished as a contempt of the king, whose representative he was in his office.

The Count (Graf), whether freedman or free-born, was, in virtue of his office, the superior of the whole Gau, the officer presiding in the king's name over the assembled freemen. He thus could confer benefits or inflict injuries on the freemen. He could choose as his subordinates in the king's service unfree or free; he could in many cases compel the fully-free, the freeholders, to take in the public burdens the part belonging to the half-free.

As what we call the state was centuries in forming itself, it was quite natural that for centuries the service of the court and the service of the state should coincide, not in all points, but in the highest and upper grades.

Those who were in immediate service around the king's person were, either from favor, or because they were qualified, invested with the highest posts in the service of the state. The names which the highest court officials bore, show that those who originally discharged these services about the person of the prince were not of the free-born class. When these court offices became influential and lucrative, then, of course, free-born men even of the highest rank began to covet these offices.

The highest officers were the Seneschal (Seneschalk), the Steward, the Marshal (Marshallk), the Chamberlain, the Cup-bearer.

The upper servants in the household of a large landed proprietor, whether he were noble or a simple freeman, had originally borne these names. The same names were retained in the courts of their princes and kings. The word *schalk* in *seneschal* contains the idea of villeinage, of the serf; it means a household serf. *Seneschal*, therefore, is the senior *schalk*, the senior serf of the household. *Marshal* is the servant who looks after the horses, the stable-boy, from *Mar*, *Mähre*, a horse, mare. The *Steward* (*Dapifer*) carried in the dishes and was the master of the kitchen. The *Chamberlain* had the care of his master's bedroom. The *Cup-bearer* superintended the cellar, the wines and beer for the table of the household.

These domestic servile offices remained, when the nobles became kings, with the

old servile names; the names remained although these simple domestic offices had been transferred in the court to high royal court offices. Only the name Seneschal was changed into Major-domus or Mayor of the Palace, that is, the first minister of the royal household, when, during the bodily and mental incapacity of the later Merovingians, the seneschals had the power, the kings the mere name. But as the word Schalk too plainly implied servitude, the new owners of power took another title more befitting the place they occupied. Similarly the word "Marschalk" was laid aside in France, and the word *Constable* (*comes stabuli*, Stallgraf, Count of the Stable), introduced. The later court system of Germany disliked the term Stallgraf, resumed the old title with the change of a letter, and made out of the old "Marschalk" the word Marshal, first a court-marshal, finally a field-marshal. The chief superintendent of the stable or stall became the chief master of the court ceremonies, and then, as the command of an army had been confided with good results to many a carpet-knight, he became the Marshal of War, the Field-Marshal, the highest military dignity. The Chamberlain had all the movable property of the king's house, the rents from the royal domains, the mint, and the finances in general assigned to his charge. He was the finance-minister.

The *Keeper of the Great Seal* was introduced from the Roman empire. He was the "Referendarius" of the Western imperial court. He had to draw out, sign and seal the royal decrees, and for this purpose the seal-ring of the prince was handed over to him. He occupied a position in which he could exercise the nearest influence on the ruling prince. After the Keeper of the Great Seal came the Count Palatine or Palgrave (Pfalzgraf). He was the supreme judge for the royal court. He was, by title, the count of the royal palace; he was, by office, "the first legal assistant of the king; he collected the decisions of the assessors of the palace court, and pronounced the sentence." In later days, when the empire was purely German, the palgrave represented the king as president of the palace court. The military officials, the dukes and counts, in whose hands the military and civil administration of the provinces of the empire was placed, were high officers, not above, but by the side of the above-named dignitaries.

Pay, in the proper sense of the word a fixed yearly sum, was not given to these officers. Extraordinary services were requited by royal services. Ordinary services were rewarded by investitures of lands, grants of the great crown-lands which were scattered throughout the empire.

These grants of crown-lands had not, even in name, any connection with what was called pay or salary in after-times; they were "gifts by royal favor," but the term *benefice*, or *beneficium*, did not arise till later. This method of paying the imperial officials did not convey an absolute title to the portions of the royal domain which were granted; they were not alienated forever; it was a grant of the enjoyment of crown property for a term or for life, just as king's followers in war, in addition to the shares allotted them from the conquered territory, which shares were allodial, received grants for a term from the king of other properties which either had been

forfeited or had reverted at death. The grant of this royal property was not a gift in the true sense of the word; the property remained still crown property, though enjoyed by the grantee; for when the grantor died, his successor could resume the property, and a petition for a new grant had to be made. With reference to these revocable benefices, which afterwards bore the name of Feod, in Latin *Feudum*, in English *Fief*, and the grantees to whom the name *vassal* came to be given, changes arose in consequence of the alternations of the civil wars of the Merovingian house; it was established that the benefice with which a man was invested could not be resumed by the king unless the vassal was convicted of dereliction of duty, and that such dereliction of duty consisted in refusing the service, in the army or at the court, to which investiture in the property bound the grantee, or in violation of allegiance and treason. This finally became acknowledged in written charters and laws.

The more that the power of the king was exalted by this system of investitures, and by the personal relations towards the king thus created, the more numerous the investitures became, the more these invested officials of the court or the civil and military administration surpassed in honors and wealth the other freemen, so much the more increased the ambition for offices and fiefs. Even clerical dignitaries obtained royal fiefs, and therewith, consequently, the temporal rights of feudal lords. They had to serve the king in war and in the court; in the former case they had the choice of serving in person, or by their Vidame, Patron or *Advowee* (*Advocatus*, *Vogt*). The royal grants made no distinction between them and lay vassals; they were in this respect subject to exactly the same feudal obligations as the temporal lords invested with crown-lands, and these spiritual lords were reckoned even in name among the "Royal Leudes," the king's men.

But these "Leudes," or "men" of the king, who surrendered to the king, in this wise, their independence and the pride of free German men, obtained by this sacrifice a great gain in their own eyes. With wealth, with influence, they obtained a higher rank; their weregild was threefold the weregild of the ordinary Frank. But this more exalted rank was not hereditary; the son of the highest official of the state or court was without any increased rank.

Such is the *feudal* system which developed itself further in the course of the Middle Ages, and was the commencement of a new nobility. When the old German nobility, as represented by the nobles, was nearly extinct, it was supplanted by the nobility created by the king. The continued feuds and wars, and the intrigues of the kings always striving for more absolute power, had so thinned the nobles that in the whole great nation of the Franks an infinitesimally small number of noble families was found; in the Bavarians only six such families, although the Bavarians, like the Franks, had been formed by a number of German tribes coalescing into one race.

The remains of the old noble families either passed into the ranks of the new official and court nobility, or were lost among those freemen who had large landed properties and kept their independence, too proud to become servants of a court, the "men" of any man, and to put themselves on an equality with those who had been

once unfree. They could not, however, prevent the new nobility from taking rank above them. They, the free barons, the gentry, were now second in rank; the new feudal nobility were the higher nobility. From those freemen who had entered the service of great spiritual or temporal dignitaries and vassals, and who held from such lords feudal estates in addition to their private allodial property, arose the lower nobility.

Although the pure Gothic tribes, especially the Saxons, Frisians, and Alemanni, preserved their old free constitutions much longer than the Franks, Lombards, or East Goths, yet the power of the Frank kingdom introduced gradually into strictly German territory the above-described feudal system.

Under Charles the Great, the Frank kingdom became a universal empire, and it was therefore requisite for him to increase the number of officials—to make out of one office, where the various branches had been previously managed by one officer, many offices, each with its separate official; and also to create new state offices for the government of his immense dominions.

He increased by new creations even the court offices. Only one office was abolished, that of the mayoralty of the palace, which had been the bridge whereby the Carolingians had passed from ministers to regents, and from regents to kings. The newly-created offices were such as could not be dangerous to the throne; such was the Grand Doorward (Grand Huissier), who in the courts of later German princes was called Master of the Ceremonies; such were the Grand Huntsman, the Grand Falconer, and the like. These offices have been retained till the present day in the courts not only of German kings and emperors, but of all princes, clerical and lay, in Germany.

Charles the Great not only abolished the dangerous mayoralty of the palace, but clipped close the wings of the grandees who bore the high offices of court and state. The Merovingian kings, in their greed for absolute monarchy, had, by the help of the aristocracy, put down the liberties and rights of the people, and thrust the people from any share in public affairs. They had got rid of the people, and all limitations of their power by the people; but the aristocracy soon grew too strong for them, and made the kings its slaves. The lords spiritual and temporal leagued together against royalty, as the course of Merovingian history had shown.

Under the Carolingian dynasty, the old dukes of races were abolished, but the separate German dukedoms became centres for constant revolts against Frank rule and against the unity of the empire. The duke of the Bavarians, Thassilo, was the last, not only of the house of the Agilolfings, but for a long period the last German duke. Charles the Great divided the power and the functions of the dukes, and distributed them to several high officers. In extraordinary instances, in certain cases, it had happened, two hundred years before, that royal plenipotentiaries had been sent into the province for a time, and for a special business. In the place of the dukes, who previously had superintended the civil and military officers in the provinces, Charles the Great adopted the plan of picking out men of learning and ability, men who

sympathized with his principles of government, whom he commissioned, not for a time, not for certain weighty matters, but for a permanency, and to whom he confided the care of the interests of the empire and the supervision of the subordinate officials, for which purpose he gave them full powers. The emperor personally gave them their instructions, orally and in writing, and each of these confidential agents knew how seriously the emperor regarded the office. He placed much in their hands. *Missi*,

that is, king's messengers, was their title. Perhaps the modern "Imperial Commissioner" is a good translation.

They had, as representatives of the king, to examine the administration of justice and the defences of the country in the circles committed to them, and to investigate any charges made against a clerical or lay official. They had plenary power to depose subordinate officers, but not the counts; they reported to Charles himself respecting illegal proceedings of the counts, and he then decided. Charles chose these commissioners without regard to birth or property, from the lower as well as from the upper ranks, from the spiritual as well as from the temporal nobles; but they always were men to whose integrity and fidelity he believed he could trust. To obviate abuse of their high functions, he dispatched into the territories which he assigned them several

of such king's messengers at the same time—two, three, or four simultaneously in proportion to the size of the province. They had to report not merely about the inferior military or civil functionaries, the state of the missions and convents, but also mutually about each other. They had to travel through the districts assigned them four times a year—in January, April, June, and October. They were never natives of the provinces to which they were sent, and he changed them every year; he left none longer than a year in the same province; after a year of activity each was entrusted with a new province.

The king's messengers summoned meetings of the officials and meetings of the people at various points of their provinces. All able-bodied freemen had the duty of appearing at the popular meetings, at the day and spot announced in the summons. The imperial commissioner had to hear them respecting the condition of their province, and they had to give information under oath, by their duty and conscience, concerning persons and events. All complaints they had to establish by testimony and witnesses. Such meetings convoked by the imperial commissioners thus became extraordinary courts of justice. Every official, whether spiritual or temporal, even bishops and archbishops, had to appear before the meeting and answer to any complaints brought against them.

Charles the Great, supported by his insight into what the welfare of the people of his empire demanded, did not regard the claim advanced by the priestly party, the claim that the clergy were exempt from temporal jurisdiction; he did not negotiate about it; he answered the dangerous doctrine by a practical measure: he compelled spiritual functionaries, bishops and archbishops, to appear before his temporal courts of justice wherein his imperial commissioner presided in his stead. The people knew that there was a court before which they could accuse, and to which they could summon the highest spiritual and temporal dignitaries.

The bishops and archbishops felt and learnt that the Great Charles was not merely religious in the ecclesiastical sense, but immovable in what he deemed necessary for the common weal; that he could be as severe and terrible to the Church as he had been kind and generous; and they submitted to the heavy hand of Charles and the courts of justice of his imperial commissioners, unwillingly indeed, but silently. Alcuin, who, although he held high spiritual dignitaries, was a man of high spirit, liberal mind, and popular sympathies, made no objection to these courts exercising jurisdiction over spiritual functionaries; he was at first dissatisfied because some of the imperial commissioners seemed to him to go too far in the investigations of convents, and in summoning the clergy.

Charles made on the Marches, or frontiers of the empire, different arrangements to those established in the interior. In the interior province he entrusted to a count only one county (*Gaugrafschaft*), not more; but the safety of the frontier demanded that he place greater districts in the hands of one officer, and give this officer fuller powers—to act independently, according to circumstances, when the danger did not allow reference to the distant emperor. Such a district on the frontiers of the empire,



formed often by a series of counties, was styled a Markgraviate or Marquisate, and the governor thereof Markgraf or Marquis. These markgraviates were not the original frontiers of the empire, but territories obtained by conquest from neighboring nations, which were made bulwarks of the empire against external foes, partly by military arrangements, partly by settlements of thousands of German families. According to the Roman law, the lands of any conquered country, which were without an owner and untilled, became *ipso facto* the property of the chief of the state; the repeated insurrections in Saxony, modern Bavaria, and Austria caused the confiscations of extensive districts, which became the immediate possessions of the German king and emperor. These districts, lying in a fertile neighborhood, were the more attractive to German immigrants as they were granted to them absolutely; and as long as Charles lived, after his coronation as emperor, peace prevailed all around. The Saxon March on the side of the Danes, the Sorbian March against the Slaves, the Eastern March against the Avars and Hungarians, the March of Friuli in the southeast of the empire, quickly flourished through the number and industry of the immigrants who settled there and became mixed with the population already dwelling there. The representative of the head of the empire was the Marquis or Markgraf, who in such lands was the military commander, in a certain degree the supreme judge, and had the internal government of the province and the superintendence of the royal domains.

The Church, for religious and financial reasons, promoted the immigration of Christian Germans into those markgraviates where the population was mostly heathen. The best and cheapest missionaries were Christian settlers, who brought with them a higher grade of civilization than that possessed by the heathen. The advantages of an orderly civilized life converted more than the mere Word.

It was a satisfaction to the Church to find among the new officials created by Charles the Great the name of the *Arch-Chaplain*, the highest spiritual functionary of the court, who saw to the performance of public worship in the court-chapel of the palace. The first arch-chaplain was Eginhard (Einhard), the favorite of Charles. From this office of arch-chaplain grew the office of Chancellor of the Empire, which, being held by a spiritual person, became fatal to the development of the German nation, and often hurtful in critical moments through which the German nation had to pass.

One of the most important offices created by Charles was the *Ministry of Education*. Alcuin, an Englishman born at York, who had been of the highest service as a diplomatist, was at the head of this new office, and accomplished wonders in this position. He was supported by his scholars Wizo, Fridugis, and Sigulf, whom, at Charles's invitation, he had brought with him from the Cathedral School of York, which then was famous for its teachers and for its breadth of instruction. Alcuin was then in his forty-sixth year; he first instructed Charles himself in the numerous branches of knowledge of which, through the negligence of himself and others, he was still ignorant. It speaks remarkably for the elevation of this monarch's character that he, the greatest of all Germanic kings and emperors, became a scholar in his ripest manhood, and that in simple writing and arithmetic, as well as in the sciences.

He wished by his example to influence his people to seek instruction, some in scientific knowledge, some at all events in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Alcuin instructed the great emperor in oratory, philosophy, arithmetic, astronomy, and Roman poetry and literature. Charles established a court-school for his family and his court. From this arose, by the exertions of Charles and Alcuin, what is called the Academy of Charlemagne. It was, however, only a union of the learned men of the court with a view to regular meetings, in which Charles and the members of his family took part for social conversation on philosophical and religious topics. Here was an interchange of philosophical discourses, enigmas were propounded and solved, native and foreign

poetry read, small theatrical exhibitions given. A more refined education was thus given, and at the same time the sons of noble Franks were thus attracted to the court, and inoculated with the idea that intelligence, learning, and art were of more value than noble birth or great wealth.

Alcuin and Charles were both zealous for the *education* of the *people*. Alcuin established schools to educate teachers, and then many schools in which the people were instructed in religion, in writing, reading, accounts and singing, and where the children of the rich and illustrious came, as well as the children of the common poor people. All bishops and abbots were enjoined to establish such schools; but these orders were not carried out everywhere as strictly as in the districts of which Alcuin was the visitor, and where he himself could establish schools, or in the districts belonging to the diocese of Theodulf, the poet-bishop of Orleans, one of the learned men and privy-councillors of Charles. Instruction in the schools for the people was

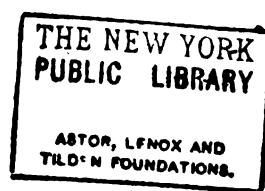
gratuitous, that poverty might deter none from attending. Many bishops reluctantly carried out Charles's instructions from fear of punishment, especially if they lay near a route often traversed by the king. For Charles, in his progresses, visited the schools; he inquired whether his orders were executed, and how far; he examined both teachers and scholars. The monk of Saint Gall relates in his Chronicle that during such a visitation of a school Charles heard that the sons of some of his great vassals were among the most ignorant and idle scholars, while poor and humbly-born children were industrious and well-informed; that he praised the last-named, and held out to them prospects of official positions; that then, turning to the young nobles,

and sharply rebuking them, he exclaimed, "By the King of Heaven, I care little for your origin. If you do not, by industry, mend your laziness, you will never get anything from me!"

The zeal of Charles for the instruction of the young is more marked than what he did for art, husbandry, and trade, great as were his merits in these departments. The richly-endowed convent schools diffused blessings among the German people, especially those of Saint Gall, Reichenau, Hirsau in the South, Fulda, Corvey on the Weser, Treves (Trier), Paderborn, Osnaburg in North Germany. Would that his son, Lewis the Pious, had had his father's Christian spirit! Charles declared, "The convents must serve not only for a pious, contemplative life, but for the practical exercise of the sciences, for popular education. To do, is better than to know; but the more a man knows, the fitter is he to do."

The popular schools declined under the successors of Charles, although the higher schools continued to flourish.

The crown domains and private estates of Charles became, by superior tillage and the use of all appliances, model farms, and *agriculture* everywhere improved under his fostering care in spite of his perpetual wars; farms became hamlets and hamlets



CHARLES THE GREAT IN THE SCHOOL OF THE PALACE.

villages. Charles himself was a good landlord, who knew every detail. His regulations respecting the management of the domain land shows this; the preface states, "All managers of domain lands and their servants must refrain from oppressing the natives, must treat them well, and give them a hand in case of need." In the oldest portions of his dominions, the present Netherlands, much land was lying waste; in the interior of Germany, immense forest districts. To every man who tilled waste land, or who turned wood into arable, Charles gave the land thus cultivated as private property, burdened only with slight tribute and services.

Charles also developed *trade*. He built new streets, bridges, causeways; he restored the old Roman works, and provided for the maintenance of all. "For ten long years," writes Eginhard, the gifted historian, councillor, and architect of Charles, "the emperor himself labored exceedingly on the building of a permanent bridge across the Rhine at Mainz (Mayence). It was fashioned of wood so marvellously, that it appeared to promise eternal duration." In 813 this work "took fire by accident, and in three hours the fire so consumed it that, beyond what the water covered, not a single splinter remained. The bridge, five hundred paces long, which the emperor wished to make of stone, instead of wood, was not executed on account of his death soon after." The canal by which he intended to unite the Rhine and the Danube by means of the waters of the Main, the Rednitz, and the Altmühl, for the furtherance of trade and intercourse, was also left unexecuted from want of competent engineers.

He planned a kind of *postal* service, and made the chief lines of communication safe by punishing severely all interruptions, and by a good police which protected native and foreign merchants, and drove off all vagabonds and suspicious people.

Unfortunately his son Lewis and his successors never carried out, or allowed to decay, what he had instituted or planned—the Rhine and Danube canal, the postal system, a police, and security of travel. Yet the annual *fairs* and weekly *markets* were continued in all the larger villages, and the system of measures introduced by him for corn and other articles, dry and liquid. In spite of his exertions, he did not succeed in effecting a complete uniformity of *coinage* among all the nations of his empire; the Bavarians and Frisians especially clung fast to their separate monetary system. He abolished excessive tolls. Two great commercial roads ran through the empire of Charles. One ran from Constantinople to the Danube, and followed the course of that stream up to the great Staple of Lorch at the mouth of the Enns in Upper Austria, and then to Ratisbon (Regensburg). At Ratisbon this great road divided into two branches, one continuing to ascend the Danube into the heart of Swabia, the other running through Forchheim and Erfurt into the north of Germany.

This great highway connected the German empire with the East.

The second great commercial road united Italy and the German North through Switzerland. The Rhine gave the direction of this road. Strasburg, Speyer, Worms were the cities of the Staple, the commercial emporia. Mainz (Mayence) was the junction of roads down the Rhine and up the Main. Cologne was the chief emporium for the Lower Rhine. In Wykdurstede the Rhine trade met the coast roads which ran on one hand as far as Schleswig, on the other down to the mouth of the Seine.

The Frisians were, during the reigns of Charles and his successors, the German tribe most devoted to trade and commerce. They, with their peculiarly built vessels, founded a German commercial marine. They carried cargoes up the river into the interior, traded there, especially in the districts on the Middle Rhine, and carried wares back, and thus brought into connection these neighborhoods, and the North Sea, and its coast lands. They connected also these German districts with Great Britain, the seat of the kingdoms of their kindred the Anglo-Saxons.

Charles recognized the importance of the commercial spirit of the Frisians; he gave considerable privileges to those who settled as merchants in the Rhineland. This is concluded from an extant document. To the people of the Church at Strasburg, the city which displayed most commercial activity on the Rhine, Charles granted exemption from tolls, except at Dorstadt (Wykdurstede), the commercial Staple of the Frisians in their own land, and at Slüch, on the western mouth of the Selde. These towns of Flanders and Friesland could not have obtained this exception in the grant of exemption from tolls made to the people of Strasburg, unless they had seemed to Charles deserving of great consideration for their influence in the interior of Germany.

The best portion of the city of Mainz (Mayence) was, down to the end of the ninth century, occupied by Frisian merchants. Numerous Frisian traders were settled in

Speyer, Worms, and other Rhine cities. These Frisian settlements of merchants in the country of the Rhine aided in producing the flourishing prosperity of the Rhine population. They conducted the German trade with Paris, especially by their journeys to the fair of St. Denis, and with Great Britain as well as Italy. The most important part of commerce, however, that with the East, which exported its spices, silks, gold and silverware, precious stones, and many other articles, was, at the time of Charles, in the hands of the Jews, and remained with them and their descendants. They brought into the empire of Charles, by way of Marseilles, the natural productions of India, the incomparable products of Indian and Asiatic artistic skill in weaving and dyeing, which had previously been brought either by the Greeks through Constantinople, or by the Italians through Venice and Amalfi. The Franks and the other Germans, educated and uneducated, had gradually, by the increase of luxury, become accustomed to this or that Oriental article; and as the greedy Greeks and Italians made them pay enormous prices therefor, Charles was anxious to supply these articles to the inhabitants of his empire by another route and cheaper. He was aided in this by the *Jewish* merchants, who were very numerous in South France, especially in Marseilles and Lyons, from the time of the Saracen dominion there, and who also were settled on the Rhine, especially in Cologne, as traders and owners of heritable estates, by license received from the Frank king, who allowed them to possess both houses in the cities and large landed estates. Jewish trading vessels visited the Frank coast-lands, and Jewish traders traveled to and fro between the empire of Charles and Asia. Charles's zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith in Germany did not hinder him from leaving the Jews undisturbed in his states, nay, from favoring them, without regard to the representations of Pope Stephen IV. Fanatic hatred of the Jews was as alien to Charles as hatred of the Saracens. His favorite physician, Master Farragas, was a Jew, and the embassy which Charles sent to the famous Caliph Haroun al Raschid of Bagdad consisted of two Christian grandees of his court and the Jew Isaac, who was conversant with the languages and state of affairs in the East.

Charles desired a friendly alliance with the great ruler of the East, chiefly from mercantile policy; if the alliance succeeded, advantages of another kind might follow. The two Christian envoys died on the road; Isaac returned safe from his long journey in 801, after four years of absence. He landed in October in Porto Venere, a Genoese haven. But before Isaac's return the embassy sent by the caliph to the emperor had arrived—storms had separated Isaac from it—and Charles saw by the presents which Haroun al Raschid sent by Isaac and his own ambassadors that a friendly connection in the way of trade with this court brought him advantages. Among the presents from the caliph were an elephant of unusual size, and a curious clock which told the time by dropping into a metal basin as many golden balls as the hour indicated, while at the same time a window opening in the upper part of the machine allowed knightly figures to come forth in number corresponding to the hour. Charles highly prized this embassy from the caliph, and on its departure sent Isaac



a second time with German gifts for Haroun al Raschid. Among them were huge hounds, intended to hunt wild beasts, and very fine "Frisian mantles" of white, gray, and blue color, or of various colors in stripes, in which figures and flowers were artistically interwoven. Charles had heard that the "Frisian mantle" was a valuable and rare article in the East. The weaving of cloth was already brought to great perfection by the Frisians; Jewish or Frisian traders had perhaps taken these Frisian goods to the great fair at Jerusalem, which had for a long time past been held every

year on the morrow of the Exaltation of the Cross, and visited by all nations far and near, especially by those Christians who knew how to combine a good stroke of business and a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre. The scarlet and striped Frisian goods were more famous than the others, and a market in the East was opened for these fabrics by the presents sent by Charles to the Eastern potentate; for Haroun al Raschid made presents of them to his courtiers, and his envoys must have reported that the lords at the court of the great emperor in the West wore such robes, and that he annually, at the great feast of Easter, distributed them as presents.

Eginhard relates that the friendly feeling between the emperor and the caliph continued to increase, and that many embassies passed to and fro between them. Charles thus obtained for his people what he had in view, namely, protection and promotion

of trade with the East, and a great degree of security for those who made pious pilgrimages to the Holy Sepulchre. The great caliph did not indeed cede the Holy Places to Charles, but it is clear from Eginhard's statement that Haroun gave him a certain liberty with respect to the Holy Sepulchre, a "protectorate" thereof; that Charles founded a hospital for the pilgrims and a convent for Frank monks on the Mount of Olives, with a respectable library for those who went to Jerusalem from the German empire. A further result was that Haroun, after his treaty of friendship with Charles, showed, "to oblige Charles," still greater kindness to the Christian populations of the East, whom he had already always treated with gentleness, and that he took care that those who were living in penury in the Saracen dominions should receive safely the large sums sent by Charles for the support of his brethren in the faith.

But all the good done by Charles soon vanished; it scarcely survived Lewis the Pious. The commerce and industry which had flourished so under Charles sank again and wilted away, not to revive till the Salic emperors and the Hohenstaufen. The poisonous tooth of religious hate gnawed the roots of the tree planted by Charles, and displayed the littleness of his successors. Trade and husbandry, public education, science and art made no progress, but retrograded for nearly three centuries.

For Charles patronized art also. But of all his works in this field, one branch only remained flourishing, the art of *music*. It continued to flourish because the clergy found the cultivation of music useful to the interests of the Church. To promote church music, Charles founded schools to teach the Italian chants, and two of the best church singers of Rome to conduct them were begged from Pope Hadrian. Other teachers and other styles of music of course followed. Not only did he introduce foreign teachers of singing into his empire, he, quite early, introduced masters of the art of civil and ecclesiastical architecture from the native land of the arts, and sent Germans of talent to study on the spot in Italy, under the guidance of such masters, the works of architectural art and the arts connected therewith. In architecture as in other things, he showed himself the founder of a new culture-period.

When the ancient city of Worms, the city celebrated in song and saga, the seat of the old Burgundian kings and queens, was consumed by the flames, Charles made his royal seat at Ingelheim, on the left bank of the Rhine, lower down than Mainz (Mayence). In the numerous places where Charles loved to celebrate the high festivals of the Church and hold his diets, he built splendid palaces, the most considerable being Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), Nimeguen, and Lower Ingelheim. Of all the imperial palaces, this last was the most magnificent, splendid beyond compare, in the opinion of his contemporaries. From the old seats and treasure-houses of ancient art, from Rome and Ravenna, material for this palace was collected. A hundred pillars of marble and granite supported the roof of the splendid edifice; the walls were bright with fresco-paintings, in which were represented the deeds of Cyrus, of Romulus, of Pyrrhus, and the Roman Cæsars, as well as those of Charles himself and of his ancestors; scenes from Saxon wars were represented among others. These mural paintings

were then the only specimens in his dominions. A church was connected with this palace; it was covered with metal, with door-posts of bronze; the roof of the tower was overlaid with gilded plates; both sides of the nave were, as in the palace, covered with mural paintings—one side with scenes from the Old Testament, the other from the New.

There can be no doubt that the fresco-paintings in the great hall of the palace were creations of the pencil of Charles's day. The Biblical scenes in the church have been supposed to have consisted, in part, of older works of Roman and Greek artists; this may be so possibly, but it is not probable.

In this very eighth century, the worship of images, to which the noble system of decorating the churches by the arts of sculpture and painting had degenerated, had been abolished in the Greek empire; religious fanaticism had set in motion a really iconoclastic spirit; the images were ejected from the churches, and thus crowds of Greek artists, compelled by persecution and loss of their livelihood, left their homes to seek work and bread in the West. The empire of the great emperor of the West, the patron of art, and his German and Italian kingdoms were not far off; and, from the descriptions of the style of painting introduced by Charles into Germany, as well as from later paintings on wall or altar, we are justified in assuming that it was the then debased Byzantine style of painting which found entrance into the dominions of Charles, and continued subsequently; that style of art which sought for effect by perfection of superficial work, by brilliancy of color and of gold. The influence of this Byzantine school of painting is shown in German pictures down to the end of the Middle Ages. Is it not probable that, when Charles was transplanting the plastic arts into his dominions, fugitive Byzantine artists or their German pupils adorned the walls of his Palace-church at Lower Ingelheim with scenes from Holy Writ?

The first cathedral (Dom) on German soil, the Church of St. Mary at Aix-la-Chapelle, was built in the Byzantine style, not in the Romanesque style of Italian art. Eginhard, the minister of public works, and the Abbot Ansigis conducted the building of this church. Eginhard had perhaps assisted Charles in the plan—he says modestly that Charles himself made the plan—and Ansigis executed the plan as clerk of the works. The Church of San Vitale in Ravenna, built by the East Gothic king Theodorich, was taken as a model. The present cathedral at Aix is not the original one. The storms under which it has suffered for centuries have caused many great alterations therein. As Charles built it, the Church of Our Lady at Aix-la-Chapelle was such a temple of God as had not yet been seen in his dominions. The folding doors, the lattices of the windows, were of brass, richly-worked antique pillars bore aloft the gilded dome, walls and floor were covered with pure marble and magnificent mosaics, the lamps and vessels were partly of silver, partly of gold. The greatest part of these costly materials was furnished by Ravenna; some came from the old imperial palace, some from Rome itself. Near this church was the palace which Charles had built for himself in this his favorite capital. It was the largest of his palaces, with unusually numerous apartments for courtiers and attendants of every

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THE AMBASSADORS OF HAROUN AL RASCHID BEFORE CHARLES THE GREAT.

rank, for spiritual and temporal dignitaries, and with halls for Diets and meetings of the empire, with numberless halls and lobbies, and with a skilfully-contrived balcony from which the emperor, himself unseen, could see all that went in or out.

So much was done for German culture by the first German emperor. A thousand years have passed since then, but no Charles the Great has come again. Even the Hohenstaufen emperors, not one of them did as much for German culture as Charles the Frank.

This figure of light has its shadows in the history of culture, as well as in family life; although one thing, which from one point of view must be characterized as injurious in the highest degree to the development of Germany, is not so from another point of view, and indeed shows the clear statesmanlike eye of Charles. This is his prohibition of carrying weapons except in time of war.

To give security to trade and intercourse, to create peace in the interior of the empire, which was continually disturbed by robberies, Charles forbade every man to bear, in time of peace, armor, lance or shield. This prohibition, some say, was an attack on the rights and customs of the German nations, and injured the free spirit of German men. But this prohibition put down those everlasting robberies, and made communication safe. It is quite credible that it suited Charles's political views to have the commons appear unarmed in the assemblies of the people, and he may have had such a secondary object. If this injured the liberties of his people, his eternal wars did more injury to them. The poorer freeholders were reduced to beggary by the repeated summons to arms; or else, to escape the levy, became the *villains* of the nobles, who thus received an excessive power and importance, because Charles could least of all dispense with their co-operation. Even the severe Charles was compelled to wink at their frequent oppressions. But Charles's innovations in the military system did injury to freedom most of all.

In the first decades of his reign, Charles often found it hard that he, the conqueror, was bound, body and soul, by the old law, according to which every campaign designed by him had to be first approved of by the general assembly of the people and declared a war of the people, before the king could summon the forces of the whole nation. The general assemblies of the people, which were held every year to debate respecting peace and war and other important national affairs, and which, from the time when they were held, were called the Marchfields (*Champs de Mars*) had been deferred by Charles's father to May, and were thenceforward styled Mayfields (*Champs de Mai*). This primitive popular right, that the king could begin no war and conclude no peace without the consent of the people, and according to which he had neither men nor money at his disposal without the vote of the people, had been respected and acquiesced in by Charles as long as he believed himself forced to do so. Even after his coronation as emperor by the Pope, he did not venture to abolish this old popular right, but he knew how to extract its old power. The German nations had made immense exertions and sacrifices for the wars of conquest waged by Charles; and in the last quarter of his life, he could not but fear that the general assemblies

would refuse him means for new aggressive wars. He found a way to change the Mayfield, the Champ de Mai, into a meeting of the *grandeas* and imperial officials; he made the general assembly of the people into an assembly of the empire. Charles did what some constitutional monarchs of our own day have done; he put forward his spiritual and temporal *grandeas*, his court and state officers, as representatives of the people; as though they were the people; as though their decisions were the votes of the people and the resolutions of the people.

Even in his old age, Charles was busied with new wars of conquest, and, after his coronation as emperor, he promulgated a series of laws after he had changed the Mayfield (Champ de Mai) into a meeting of officials. The assemblies of the empire, when thus formed, were only assemblies to give sanction by their assent. His Romanic clergy had taught him that since he had been crowned emperor by the Pope, he had a divine right to sole power; and even the English Alcuin, in consequence of bitter experience which he had had personally of popular assemblies, assisted in fooling his royal friend. Provoked against the people, he wrote, "The imperial power is ordained by God for nothing else than to rule over and protect the people"; and again he wrote, "The people, by divine command, must be led; those who say 'The voice of the people is the voice of God,' are not to be listened to; the impetuosity of the crowd is akin to foolishness." Such doctrines were heard with pleasure by the aged Charles, who in himself had a longing to be sole ruler—to be an autocrat like the emperors of Eastern and Western Rome. To enable him to actually exercise autocratic power, he had to remove the limitations which stood in his way in the national assemblies, and in the rights and laws of the German races. He demanded a new oath of allegiance in this sense, an act of homage; and a series of laws published between the years 803 and 811, let the Germans know that the Emperor Charles claimed greater rights, and a higher position than Charles king of the Franks and Lombards. These laws effected an almost complete revolution in the constitution of the army, and an extension of the obligation of military service. Hitherto the bulk of the army had consisted of foot-soldiers. In the previous wars Charles, in his career of conquest, had found it necessary to hurry with his forces from one extremity of his empire to the other. The success of his attack depended on his rapidity, and for such rapid movements the roads were, in their then state, too bad when the bulk of the forces were foot; bodies of foot could advance with great difficulty on these roads at any other time than the end of spring, the summer, and the beginning of autumn; and even in the favorable season, from May to September, the infantry required a long time to reach the point of attack. In spite of this experience, Charles, as a mere elected king of the Franks, would never have believed himself empowered to do what he did after his consecration as emperor with autocratic powers, and after the degradation of the assembly of the people into an assembly of officials; he proceeded to increase the cavalry of his army to such an extent that it formed the main strength of the army.

Hitherto, only the personally free men who had landed property were bound to

serve in war, and to serve only as infantry, not as cavalry. But now Charles made those freemen who had no landed property subject to the burden of military service, inasmuch as he laid on them a war-tax for the equipment of the smaller freeholders who were bound to military service. This tax, at the lowest valuation, amounted to a fifth of their yearly income. Hitherto military obligations had touched the person only; they now touched personal property.

Hitherto, without distinction, whether he had much or little property, each free proprietor of land had been simply bound to personal service. Charles now ordained that the contributions levied on those bound to military service were to be proportioned to the number of "hides" (hufen) of land which each man possessed. The owner of twenty hides paid more than the owner of ten or five. At the same time Charles regulated the equipment required. Hitherto each man had armed himself as well as he could. It was now ordained that the owner of four hides of land was to

serve personally on foot, light armed. He had to have a lance and shield, or a double-stringed bow with twelve arrows. The owner of more than four but less than twelve hides had to serve on horseback, heavily armed. He had to have lance and shield, sword and dagger, bow and arrows. If a man had only three hides, he was put with one who had only a single hide, and the man who could most easily be spared from his home had to take the field; the other one, who remained at home, having to contribute towards the equipment and maintenance of the one who took the field. The equipment referred not only to the regulation weapons, but to supply of provisions. Water, fire, wood and fodder for cattle were given to the soldier free; he had to bring with him provisions for three months. The soldier was not recouped by the state for his heavy expenses; he had to look to booty in case of victory and survival. It is clear from this account how burdensome the summons into the field was to the individual; even the weapons cost a deal. General Peucker has calculated that the equipment of a foot-soldier in the last years of Charles's reign, with lance and shield



as prescribed in the regulations, cost the value of eight oxen ; that of a horse-soldier, of fifteen oxen.

This reorganization of the army threw an unendurable burden on the class liable to service. To the landwehr—a name even then applied to those bound to serve in defence of the country against attacks of external foes—all who could bear arms belonged, bond as well as free. This part of military obligation was not oppressive ; defence of the frontiers was a rare occurrence ; it was the neighbors of Charles who were attacked and had to defend their borders. But this new arrangement laid a still heavier load on all who had to serve out of their own frontiers ; it exhausted the strength of the nation by the frequent recurrence of campaigns, by the heavy fines on delinquents, by the arbitrariness and illegalities which the imperial officials displayed.

The small landed proprietors were by these laws almost destroyed ; a district which at the time of the accession of Charles supported ten thousand freemen, could show at his death scarcely a thousand in a free condition. From this period we must date the abscess which, through the whole Middle Age period, was eating into the sound limbs of the German nation—which we even now, at the close of the nineteenth century, are laboring to heal amid severe struggles and conflict—the abscess formed by that species of aristocracy which consists of a union of military nobles and spiritual dignitaries, and which has always, after brief intervals of apparent restoration, made Germany sick again, and turned the German states into priest-ridden, despotic military governments.

This new organization of the military service brought degradation as well as impoverishment on the people ; it could not be otherwise ; the number of freemen continually diminished, and in the course of a century freedom was the exception, villeinage the rule.

If a small farmer had to serve year after year in the army, his farm soon fell into bad order. If he was allowed to remain at home because his landed property was too small, he was compelled, in partnership with some other, to equip a soldier, and had therefore to run into debt. If a man with little property did not comply with these new laws respecting the army, he lost either his property or his freedom ; for the fines imposed by Charles for any violation of these ordinances were extraordinarily heavy, and made heavier by the mode of collection. The man who could not pay immediately the fine imposed, had to board and lodge the officers charged with the collection of the fines till the amount was paid. Moreover, as the collector had a third of the sum collected, we need not look for any humane consideration of circumstances, for any remissness in collecting or any neglect. If the landed property was not adequate to the fine imposed, the personal freedom of the delinquent was imperiled, which had never been the case previously where debt only was concerned. The law of the emperor ordered that whoever did not fulfil as prescribed his military obligations, and whose property did not suffice to pay the fine imposed, should be conveyed to the crown domains, there to serve as a slave till the fine was paid. But as the

finer for violations of these laws were excessively high, this mode of working out the fine became not a temporary, but a lifelong slavery. Furthermore, the people suffered from the partiality of the counts (Grafen) whose duty it was to summon the array. They left the rich at home and summoned the poor. There was, indeed, a law that an officer who acted unjustly in this matter had to pay the fine of the party exempted, but such laws on paper were no protection to the poor man against the violence of rapacious and corrupt officials. The tyrannical acts of the imperial officials in the last years of Charles's reign were so extensive that, in all parts of the empire, the bitterest complaints were made. These complaints even reached the emperor; but he was now no longer the man who would venture to punish such abuse of official power on the part of so many criminals—who were, too, the very men who he hoped would be, after his approaching decease, the firmest props of his dynasty.

The more that Charles, in his increasing years, dazzled by the splendor of the imperial crown, and led astray by the teachings of his clergy, struggled to grasp autocratic power, the more disagreeable that any participation of the people in public affairs became, so much the more liberally did he grant privileges to the clergy and nobility, the two castes whose motto was "Scratch me, and I will scratch thee," the temporal and clerical bureaucracy. This bureaucracy had raised the fabric of his imperial greatness, and he expected that it would from gratitude be a sure and faithful support to his weak son Lewis and his throne, and to his imperial house. History shows how terribly the Great Charles was in error; how the very opposite result followed. And yet since his day, the princes of Europe, especially those who sat on the thrones of France and Germany, have clung to these false principles, to this delusion which seeks a support for the throne and family, not in the people, but in one or other privileged caste or in the two castes together. The only exceptions have been princes whose souls had not been sullied by flatterers and courtiers in early life, or who, by terrible strokes of fortune, have been made to learn and know in what the true value of mankind consists, and where men of most value can most readily be found.

To keep the clergy loyal to his house, Charles as emperor granted to almost all the bishops and abbots in his empire complete civil jurisdiction over all the laity settled on their estates, with the right of taking for their own account all fines exacted from them by legal process. Every bishop and abbot to whom such prerogative was granted, became almost the princes of all who dwelt in their dioceses. It was disputed whether Charles had given them also full criminal jurisdiction of the inhabitants; at all events, they obtained it from his successors by bribes or by compulsion which the clergy applied in cases when the crown was distressed.

From this period dates the temporal territorial dominion of the clergy in the German empire, the Church as a state within the state. Some bishoprics and convents had already received from the favor of the kings "exemption from public dues and service." Charles gave the Church, that is, all bishops and abbots, the right of exercising their civil and inferior criminal jurisdiction over those of the commons who

were subjects of the empire, but whose property lay in the scattered possessions of the Church. All revenues which the state had hitherto derived from such subjects of the empire were granted to the Church. From henceforth, the bishops and abbots exercised temporal as well as spiritual power over those small freeholders who had previously been under the counts and their officers, as protectors of the rights of the crown. The rights of the crown over this class of freemen were so completely granted to the clergy by Charles, that the clergy appropriated all revenues which the state had hitherto derived from the freemen dwelling among the estates of an abbey or of a bishopric. And to assure the Church in these monstrous privileges, the emperor ordained that whosoever was convicted of violating these privileges of the Church was amerced in a fine of 600 gold *solidi*—a higher fine than had been hitherto imposed for any violation of law; high enough to cause the richest temporal lords to respect the privileges of the Church.

In his liberality, Charles reserved one thing alone, a decisive influence on the nomination of the *Advowees* (*Vögte*—*Vidames*). They were to be taken from the laity; by them the clergy discharged its temporal feudal duties.

As the clergy had been since the middle of the eighth century free from personal service in war, many freemen had entered the clerical state to escape this burden; so numerous were they that, in 805, the emperor was compelled to forbid any freeman from taking orders without special license from the emperor. Those who had already received the tonsure but had remained on their own estates, were held liable for military service. In return, he allowed each bishop and abbot to retain at home, out of the laymen on the Church estates, two who were liable to serve. As he had granted to the bishops and abbots the judicial fines, he also granted to them all payments for exemption from military service in the case of unfree or free subjects of their jurisdiction. Thus each bishop or abbot could either keep a man at home or send him to the wars. Of course the convents preferred to let their vassals, for a very light payment, remain at home in their usual occupations. As early as Lewis the Pious the most of the convents had obtained for themselves and their vassals full exemption from military service.

To escape the ruinous military service of this new system, the smaller freeholders in crowds renounced their previous independence, gave their free allodial estates to a bishopric or an abbey, and received them back from the Church as fiefs burdened with definite services and obligations. These obligations were much lighter than those which the new military laws imposed; as "men" of the Church they were now freed from the latter.

Other freeholders sought to help themselves, not by becoming feudatories of the Church, but vassals of the crown. By the benefices with which the crown invested those who entered into the personal service of the emperor, each could better his circumstances, and in the good results of his present position, he easily ceased to regret his early liberty. The vassal was no longer a freeman, but he was in a much better position. When the emperor gave to the nobility as well as to the clergy the

liberty of taking any freeman under feudal protection, and as a noble's power depended on the number of vassals immediately dependent on him and no longer under crown-officers, the nobility began to vie with the emperor and clergy in turning the free commons into feudal vassals. It was for the interest of the feudal lord to leave their vassals as far as possible engaged in cultivating their lands, and as far as possible to save them from military service. They spared their own "men," and at the same time, by repeated summons to service, they made those freeholders who had refused to sacrifice their freedom, reflect whether it was better for them to remain as heretofore and be ruined in their property or to renounce their freedom, give up their *allodium* to some powerful noble, receive it back as a fief with additions beside, and, more than all, be spared the military service. Thus crown, nobility and clergy worked together in diminishing the number of freeholders, and in diminishing their rights—that is, in ruining the liberty of the people.

Perhaps with the best intentions, Charles injured popular liberty by his alterations in the administration of justice. The counts (Grafen) had hitherto been only the executive officers for the judgments of the popular courts of the Gau; Charles made them presidents of the tribunals; he deprived the people of the old right of electing the president of the tribunals, and ordained that officials named by the crown had the presidency in the courts. This attack on the oldest right of the people created such dissatisfaction in the German nations that Charles refrained from depriving the people of the right of electing the presidents of the inferior tribunals.

Another innovation injurious to liberty, was the arrangement, according to which the courts were no longer held, as they had been from time immemorial, under the open sky, but in confined and covered places. By this means the people were prevented from taking a part in the administration of justice, and the impartiality of the administration of justice exposed to risk. The latest view regarding this regulation of the emperor, for which health was a pretext, is that the emperor adopted it in order that popular opinion, already embittered by his cruel new military laws, might not be aggravated by the great number of penal processes for violation of the military laws, and by the public trial of such cases under the open sky, in the field free to all.

The creation of the courts of the Schöffen (Schöppen; Latin, *Scabini*; French, *Echevins*) was no injury to popular freedom as long as the Schöppen were freely elected by the people. The transfer of the judgment from all the freemen present at the assembly, to a committee chosen from their midst, was an advance. Twenty-six years later, in 803, Charles so altered the whole system that he withdrew from the people the right of electing the Schöppen, and had them nominated by officers of the crown. The abuses resulting from this ordinance, and the bitter feeling displayed by the people respecting it, produced a revocation of it in 809; the Schöppen were then to be elected "by the co-operation of the count" and the people.

The Schöppen held office for life; and they gave rise to a new kind of aristocracy. "There was thus laid," says Walter in his History of German Law, "a foundation for a distinction between common freemen and freemen eligible for Schöppen." These Schöppen were rather a kind of crown officials than men of the people.

These arrangements and political institutions passed from the Frank empire into the new empire of the pure German nations.

## CHAPTER XIII.

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CONRAD I, HENRY I AND THEIR TIME—BEGINNING OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

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**U**NDER Lewis the Child, the bands which had held together for a time the various German races, the Franks, the Saxons, the Bavarians, the Swabians, were much loosened, or rather quite unloosed. Every race thought and cared only for itself. The dukes of the races acted like despots, and regarded themselves independent. The German races under the feeble successors of Charles the Great had created for themselves dukes, and the monarchy soon experienced what troubles these restored dukes of races could cause. The attacks of the Northmen on one side, and of the Magyars and Slaves on the other, awakened, against the king's will, the ducal dignity which Charles the Great had buried. The less that the incapable Carlovingians defended

the German populations against the attacks of invaders, the more were the Saxons and Franks, the Bavarians and Swabians compelled to group themselves around a valiant leader. Such an elected general, when victorious, stood high among his fellow-countrymen; he could easily increase the number of his vassals, servitors and vassals; the small proprietors sought his protection, and his conquests of hostile territory enabled him to give larger grants of land. The castles which he built served both to protect the country people and to exalt the power of him who was the lord of the castle. Thus at the beginning of the last quarter of the ninth century the Saxons had again a duke, who was not only the actual leader, but bore also the ducal title. No king had nominated him; he became duke by the force of circumstances. His name was Bruno, and his brother and successor was Otto the Illustrious.

To imitate Otto, to make themselves dukes and rule the country of their race as he ruled with almost independent power in Saxony, was now the ambition of the leaders of other German races, and the days of Lewis the Child gave them time and room

for their efforts. The oldest son of that Conrad the Salic who had fallen in fight with the Babenbergers, a Conrad like his father, was already actual duke of Franconia; although from prudence he did not so call himself, yet he was so styled by his countrymen. In the year of the death of Lewis the Child, the noble Reginar who had assumed the ducal title, became, after a successful struggle, actual duke of Lorraine. In Bavaria, Leopold (Luitpold), connected on the female side with the imperial house of the Carolingians, the ancestor of the house of Wittelsbach, had the title and power of a duke of Bavaria; and when he had fallen in fight against the Magyars, his son Arnulf, elected by the Bavarians, ruled in his stead with the title of Duke.

In Alemannia, the country which soon hereafter assumed and kept the name of Swabia, Burchard (Burkhard), count of Thurgau, had made himself duke. He had actually as duke of the Alemanni protected the land, in the year 909, against the invading hordes of Magyars. He collected the military forces and saved the country while the imperial commissioner Erchanger did nothing.

After his conquest of the Magyars, Burchard summoned a general assembly of his countrymen for the purpose of being elected duke by the people according to the ancient fashion. But at the opening of the meeting, Burchard was murdered by a Count Anselm (Anshelm), apparently at the instigation of Erchanger, in the year 911.

Erchanger and his brother Berthold now played the lords over this district, and the former assumed the title and office of duke. Supported and aided by Solomon, Bishop of Constance and Abbot of Saint Gall, a member of an illustrious Alemannic family, he persecuted the family of the murdered Duke Burchard. At the bishop's instigation he murdered Count Adalbert, the brother of Burchard, and, partly by force, partly by forged documents, ejected the widow and female relatives of Burchard from the possession of their property. The bishop's hatred extended to Burchard's family. Burchard, as duke, had checked his longing to appropriate various properties of the crown near the Lake of Constance.

This prince of the Church, Solomon, wished to improve for his own interests the favorable circumstances under which so many temporal lords were increasing their power and possessions at the expense of the crown and empire as well as of popular freedom. Under the cloak of zeal for the interests of the Church, he labored to satisfy his own rapacity and love of power.

This prince of the Church combined two discordant characters; he robbed the empire for the benefit of the Church, and at the same time struck the key-note for patriotic lamentations that the German empire could not unite on the election of a head of the empire. In an extant letter, he complains, "Seeing that the discord in this one nation is so great, how can we believe that the empire will stand? The only wonder is that everything is not destroyed, and the races and nations swept away in a desolating war."

The old cancer of the German nation, Disunion and Sectionalism, proceeding from the conceit of each race, and the jealousy of one race towards another, was now more widely spread than ever. Not only no one of the newly created dukes was willing

to subordinate himself under one of his peers who should be elected king of the Germans, but the countrymen of each duke wished either to have their own duke at the head of the empire as king, or, which they preferred, to elect no head of the empire, but to remain as of old, each race apart for itself; they desired what is now called a federation. Each race wished to be the dominant race. Each of the newly created dukes claimed or took in his territory the rights which hitherto the king had possessed, and that, not merely over the laity, but over the princes of the Church and the clergy in general. The opposition of the clergy led to terrible acts of violence by the dukes and their vassals. At the synod of Hohenaltheim in September, 916, the clergy complained that bishops and abbots had experienced cruel treatment from the dukes. These complaints go so far as to assert that the temporal lords, for the purpose of extorting an acknowledgment of their claims, had, in the last few years, seized the spiritual lords, thrown them into prison, blinded and castrated them; nay, some had been murdered. Such tyranny and such evil deeds were only possible in the melancholy circumstances of the empire after the death of Lewis the Child—that awful period in which the German empire had no acknowledged head, and in which the dukes of Bavaria and Swabia, as well as the duke of Lorraine, each played the king in his country. Just as at the beginning of the nineteenth century the German empire was dissolved into a series of kingdoms and grand-duchies, so in the beginning of the tenth century it almost fell asunder into five sovereign principedoms—into a duchy of Saxony, a duchy of Franconia, of Bavaria, of Swabia, and of Lorraine.

The German empire was prevented from thus crumbling into fragments by the increasing danger of attacks of the Magyars, who were again ravaging Germany, and by the famine that broke out in consequence in Eastern Germany.

Strong as were the sectional tendencies of all the races, yet there were many men among them in whom a comprehension of the position of the country and the greatness of the danger outweighed everything else; they saw that this danger could be averted only by the union of the military force of all Germany, and by the retention thereof in the single hand of a head of the empire. With these views, in the January after the death of Lewis the Child, that is, in the beginning of the year 912, men from all parts of Germany, the spiritual and temporal grandees, met to elect a new head of the empire. The Lorrainers alone were absent. The place of this meeting was Forchheim, now a small city in the Bavarian circle of Upper Franconia, at the junction of the Wiesent and the Regnitz, a spot which was, as early as the eighth century, a fortified and favorite palace of the Carolingians. The grandees of the Frank and the Saxon races made the strongest show in this assembly. These were the very races which had been hitherto most hostile to each other; they were the very races in which the civilizing power of Christianity had made most progress in spite of the melancholy condition of the majority of the priesthood, and, in consequence of this advance in civilization, these two races had a clearer understanding of the state of the nation. The Saxons, who had been reached by the Magyars from Moravia, the Thuringians, and Franconians had suffered heavily from these foes.



The eyes of most of those present fell on Otto the Illustrious, the powerful duke of Saxony, under whom the Thuringians, after the death of their duke Burchard in battle with the Magyars, had placed themselves. But Otto, now growing old, either did not think himself strong enough to take on himself the heavy burden of the empire in the presence of danger, or else, from other causes, he had no desire to raise up the sunken monarchy. He suggested the election of his relative, Conrad, duke of Franconia, as a man in the prime of youthful vigor, and the assembly elected as head of the empire Conrad of Franconia.

Conrad was rich in property of his own; and the territory of the Salian Franks, who acknowledged him as their duke, embraced in wide circles the whole territory of the Middle Main, the Wetterau, Nassau, Hesse, Worms, Speyer, and a great part of the present duchy of Baden. By the female side, Conrad was connected with the house of the Carolingians.

Nobles from Bavaria and Swabia had been present at Forchheim, and voted for Conrad; but the dukes of Bavaria and Swabia held aloof, although they had been especially invited to attend. After the election they were requested to consent therein. These two dukes from the Southeast were not favorable to the election of a king, either because the absence of royal power opened to them a prospect of the independence of their race and ducal dignity, or, in the case of the duke of Bavaria, because the majority of the Bavarians wished their duke Arnulf, the son of the Leopold who had fallen in battle with the Magyars, to be elected king of the Germans.

Duke Arnulf had, soon after the death of Lewis the Child, taken up his abode in Ratisbon, the capital of the last kings. Arnulf was a brave man, and therefore popular with his Bavarians. He knew how to hold the language of a king at his court in Ratisbon, when the ambassadors of the Magyars came thither and haughtily demanded the tribute which Arnulf had promised to the Magyar conquerors in the moment of distress after the defeat and death of his father. He dismissed them with the words, "I am not accustomed to be dictated to. Your princes can come and take their tribute; they shall learn that the Bavarians have arms, and can wield a sword." These words Arnulf followed up by victorious deeds.

Such was Arnulf; and not he alone, the Bavarians in accord with him, withheld their assent to the election of Conrad by the Saxons and Franconians.

Reginar, the duke of Lorraine, also refused to acknowledge Conrad. He did not, however, succeed in maintaining Lorraine as a small independent kingdom. The newly-elected King Conrad at once attacked Lorraine to enforce recognition of his election. But Duke Reginar preferred to do homage to the king of France as his over-lord, and the Lorrainers would rather belong to the French than to the German empire. The Lorrainers were supported by the armies of France; and the new King Conrad, in two campaigns, in the years 912 and 913, in vain endeavored to bring over the apostate Lorrainer to the German empire and to the recognition of his election as head of the empire.

While Conrad was busied in the west, affairs in the southeast of Germany had gone badly for his royal dignity.

Among the Swabian grandees who had worked for the election and acknowledgment of Conrad, had been the bishop who was stained with the blood of Duke Burchard of Swabia, the Bishop Solomon of Constance. His friend and fellow-murderer, Erchanger, who had made himself Duke of Swabia, was of those who were in no hurry to recognize the election of Conrad. Two equally ambitious men, like Solomon and Erchanger, the spiritual prince and the temporal prince, moving on the same ground, could not long remain friends. The duke had built a fortress, Stammheim, in a situation which the Bishop of Constance found very inconvenient and dangerous for the freedom of his abbey of St. Gall, and which, it seemed, was intended to turn the vassals of the convent into subjects of the duke. The skillful courtier, Bishop Solomon, obtained an order from King Conrad bidding Erchanger cede the fortified castle to the convent of St. Gall.

At this very time Erchanger had deservedly won great fame, and shown that, as far as concerned protection against foreign foes, he was not unworthy of the ducal sword. The Magyars would not be set at defiance by Arnulf, and in 912 entered the empire in two bands, one invading Saxony, the other Bavaria. Arnulf with the Bavarians, Erchanger with the Swabians, met them on the Inn, and defeated them by a stratagem they had learned from them—namely, a pretended flight. The battle took place in the year 913, not far from Passau; the defeat of the Magyars was so heavy, and the exultation of the Germans so great, that many thought that all danger from the Magyars was passed.

The two dukes, Arnulf and Erchanger, were so irradiated by the splendor of this victory over the terrible invaders, that Conrad believed he ought to omit no measure likely to gain their acknowledgment of his royal dignity. In this view he married the Swabian Cunegunda, a woman older than he, but possessing influence both over Bavarians and Swabians. She was the stepmother of the Duke Arnulf and the sister of Erchanger.

This matrimonial connection might have had some effect on Erchanger if the Bishop Solomon had not thrust himself between, and sought to seize the castle of Stammheim in accordance with the king's previous order. Erchanger and his brother Berthold opposed him with arms, defeated him, and took him prisoner after a brief feud. The king had in the meantime made him his chancellor, for the Bishop of Constance exercised great influence on the clergy of South Germany, and was valued by the king as Hatto of Mainz had been. He hastened to the spot, set Solomon at liberty from his captivity in Dieboldsburg, and was so fortunate as to lay hands on Duke Erchanger. Solomon undertook to bring gradually over to the king's side the clergy of Swabia and Bavaria, if Erchanger and his brother Berthold, who also had been a victor in battle against the Magyars, were removed from the country. Conrad, therefore, on the grounds of his feud with the Bishop of Constance, and his evil treatment of the bishop during his captivity, banished his brother-in-law Erchanger from the above countries in the year 914.

The clergy from the Lake of Constance to the Middle Rhine, and on the other side the whole clergy in Bavaria, were triumphant; they saw that Conrad, a king made by ecclesiastical princes, was altogether in their power; it was on the clergy that he relied; it was from the clergy he received the counsels he listened to. The clergy had seen that during the last two decades, the dukes and temporal princes had striven to reduce the power of the Church, and they saw that it was to the interests of the Church to clear away from their paths such opponents of the plan which the Church had long ago plotted out, of making every kind of ecclesiastical prince independent. In the prospect of a Magyar invasion, the conduct of the southeastern dukes, who wished to stand by themselves, must have been very annoying to the king, and therefore it was easier for his clerical advisers to persuade him that the utter destruction of the recalcitrant dukes was the only means of forming a united empire, and of increasing the power of the crown.

But the condition of Germany was not favorable for the plan, and the political shortsightedness of King Conrad, who was merely a brilliant swordsman, allowed him to begin a civil war, while the terrible hordes of the Magyars and the Slaves on one side threatened the frontiers, on another crossed them.

The bad advice of the ecclesiastical princes determined him first of all to break the pride of the refractory grandees. He believed, with justice, that power to resist invasion could only come from the restoration of a united empire; but he overlooked that it was not the right time for such a restoration, because the Magyars, united among themselves, could not but conquer the disunited Germans if they invaded Germany with all their forces.

As soon as Erchanger had left the country, Burchard, the son of the murdered duke, returned to Swabia. He placed himself at the head of the numerous opponents of King Conrad. The dissatisfaction of the temporal lords at the favor which Conrad displayed to the clergy was general in Swabia. The whole country, in 915, revolted against the haughtiness of the Bishop of Constance and his party. Upon this Erchanger returned. His brother Berthold had collected an armed force; the king and the party of the bishop hurried to put down the insurrection, but Burchard's party joined the party of Erchanger against the common domestic foe, the rapacious and despotic clergy, who were so numerous in this district where one abbey touched another, and sank its suckers into the freedom, the goods and lands of those who had still retained their independence, of which class there were more in this district than in central Germany. In the battle the discontented defeated the party of the king and the bishop at Wahlwies near Stockach, a league from the Lake of Constance in the present territory of Baden. After this defeat the weakness of the king was such that the Swabians took Erchanger again for their duke, and the king could do nothing but enter into negotiations with the victorious party.

The Swabians had been set in motion and roused to arms by the insolence of the clergy, by whom the king allowed himself to be guided; and the clerical conspiracy to abolish the dukedoms of the races arrayed against the king Duke Arnulf of Bavaria

and his Bavarians, and Duke Henry of Saxony and his Saxons. Like the Swabians, the Saxons and Bavarians wished to have a duke of their own race over them, and not to be placed under imperial officials of another race; least of all did they wish to have the priests playing the lord over them.

The plan of the king's priestly advisers was to lessen the military power of the dukes, to weaken them gradually, and thus become their master. For this purpose it was necessary to take his important castle of Stammheim from the Duke of Swabia, Erchanger, to diminish the extent of the territories of Henry, who called himself Duke of Saxony and Thuringia, and to separate from him the Thuringians, who, in the days of Otto the Illustrious, had placed themselves under the protection of the Saxon duke. The same policy was set in motion against the duke of Bavaria. With astonishing imprudence, Conrad proceeded to execute his plan at the same time in the three chief points of Germany—in Swabia, Bavaria, and Saxony—and thus provoked and forced on the opposition of these dukes and their countrymen.

Duke Arnulf, who, by Conrad's marriage with Cunegunda, had become the king's stepson, was on bad terms with him; the views of Conrad and the clergy had been discovered too soon, and each duke was alarmed lest his destruction was designed, lest the duchies be again resolved into numerous countships, and these countships given either absolutely or as fiefs to the bishops and abbots in most instances, with the object of weakening the temporal lords, and aggrandizing the Church by increased temporal power. This policy appeared in full activity under the kings Otto I. and Henry II., and there can be no doubt that the ecclesiastical princes sought to convince Conrad I. that by this means alone could the temporal aristocracy be broken, and the royal power established.

Conrad attempted, vainly at first, to break the opposition of the Bavarians and their duke. The clergy of Swabia and Bavaria had gradually, as promised by Bishop Solomon, come to the king's side, but the Bavarians were not openly with their military forces on his side. The royal arms were as unsuccessful here as in Swabia. But they were least successful in Saxony.

Otto the Illustrious died on the 30th November, 912. To him more than to any one else Conrad owed his election. The Saxons were, at this time, the most powerful of the German races. They had elected as duke Otto's son, Henry. Henry was at once a soldier and a statesman, wise and brave, popular and just. The priesthood had with iron hand wounded deeply his young heart. His first love was Hatheburg, the daughter of Erwin, the count of Merseburg, and had married her. Bishop Sigmund of Halberstadt insisted on the dissolution of this marriage, because Hatheburg had previously been betrayed into a wish to become a nun and leave her rich inheritance to a convent. After some years, Henry had married Matilda, a lady celebrated widely in Saxony. She had three great advantages which were of much influence with gentle and simple: she was descended from Widukind the Saxon hero; she was a maid of rare beauty; she had the noblest qualities of head and heart. All Saxony was for Henry and Matilda.

At the report that Conrad the Frank wished to degrade the son of Duke Otto, every Saxon rose in arms. The people felt themselves injured by the king's attempt. It had been the people, the united people of Saxony and Thuringia, who had chosen Henry for their duke, whose votes had given him all the power and all the rights which his father had before him. Every Saxon thought, "Is this the gratitude of the Frank whom we Saxons made the king of Germany"? and the people's voice summoned Duke Henry to assert his position and rights, and assured him that all the Saxon people were at his back. It was not yet the rule for sons to succeed to the benefices and dignities of their fathers, but Conrad ought to have respected this vote of two countries.

The diplomatic wiles of the king's clerical advisers had no effect on the Saxons. The king found it advisable to leave with the son the extensive fiefs which he had partly granted to the father, partly allowed him to retain. But all Saxony made it a point of honor that their Duke Henry should have all that Duke Otto had held, and the Thuringians refused to be separated from the Saxons, and decidedly objected to be subjects of priests invested with the dignity of counts.

Victory was certain, for the Saxons and Thuringians united under Henry. The king's brother Eberhard, duke of Franconia, was defeated near Eresburg, the ancient Saxon stronghold, and the royal army under his command experienced an enormous loss in the year 915. To avenge the disaster, the king advanced with an overwhelming force, and shut up the Saxon duke in Grona, near Göttingen. But during the siege, Conrad was called away by the movements of the dukes of Swabia and Bavaria; he had to fight them and at the same time the Magyars. Henry followed him and invaded Eastern Franconia, but an inroad of the Danes and the Slaves of the Elbe into Saxon territory recalled him home.

The foreign enemies availed them of the disunion of the Germans. In 913 to 916, the inroads of the Magyars had ravaged those parts of Bavaria and Swabia, of Thuringia and Saxony which were stripped of soldiers; and at the same time the Slaves and Danes burst into the empire. Without any important opposition they laid waste the country as far as Bremen. Conrad now, in full comprehension of the situation, hastened to be reconciled with the Saxon duke. The latter retained all the land between the Rhine and the Oder, the Eider and the Thuringian forest, and therewith the predominant power in the empire. These remained with the Saxons for a century.

The king proceeded to Swabia. At Altheim he had summoned a general diet, and had entered into negotiations with Duke Erchanger and his brother Berthold, as well as with Burchard and his party. With Duke Erchanger and his brothers matters proceeded so far that, on a safe conduct which Conrad, their sister's husband, confirmed with his royal word, they engaged to appear at the diet of Altheim. They left their impregnable castle on the heights of Hohentwiel in Hegau, and came with their nephew Liutfrid to Altheim.

Here they found assembled around the king the clergy from Bavaria and Swabia, with a minority of temporal nobles. Their clerical enemies accused Erchanger, Ber-

thold and Liutfrid of being "traitors who had revolted against the king and disturbed the empire." The assembly pronounced sentence of death on the two brothers and the nephew. "Urged by the bishops," Conrad violated his solemnly given safe-conduct. In the concluding days of the year 916, the king arrested the men who had trusted his royal word, Erchanger, Berthold and Liutfrid, the conquerors of the Magyars. He betook himself with his prisoners to the district of the Neckar, and here at Aldingen, six miles below Cannstadt, on territory forming part of the oldest possessions of the Salian Franks, on the territory of his own house, he carried out the

sentence of death. Erchanger, Berthold and Liutfrid were all beheaded on the 21st of January, 917.

From this blood, shed by foul violation of a most solemn promise, no good resulted to the king. Through all Swabia, the convents excepted, not only men's hearts were stirred, but their hands and swords were raised against the king. The people of Swabia made the young Burchard their duke.

Duke Arnulf of Bavaria joined the Swabians. He saw from what had occurred what he had to expect from the clerical nobles who ruled the king. His entrance into the struggle was a fight not merely for his ducal dignity, but for his head; and, at the same time, was the fulfilment of a duty which had not as yet quite vanished from the German conscience, the duty of avenging the blood of his uncles.

On this occasion the king had the superiority in force; the spiritual lords furnished

armed assistance to Conrad, and Arnulf could not keep the field. He threw himself into Ratisbon. After a fierce struggle the suburb of St. Emeran caught fire. The king was wounded in the fight, and the strongly fortified old town was able to hold out behind its walls. But the bishop induced the citizens to open their gates to the king. Duke Arnulf with wife and child and his best friends fled into the mountains, and thence to the Magyars. There he found hospitable reception; they respected the soldier who had been such a gallant opponent. The capture of Ratisbon and the flight of Arnulf brought about the submission of Bavaria to the king.

But the Magyars, immediately after this, again invaded the empire, poured over Bavaria and Swabia, destroyed Basel, burst into Alsace, penetrated deep into Lorraine, and collected immense booty. Arnulf's protecting arm was no longer in Bavaria, the brave swords of Erchanger and Berthold were broken in Swabia—the heroes who had kept the robber hordes away even from the convents and the seats of the clerical princes, although they knew that their deadliest foes dwelt therein. It was quite natural that the Magyars should first attack the abbeys and convents, as the richest spots, as the fattest objects for booty. But the hatred of the clerical nobles gave out that Duke Arnulf, the guest of the Magyars, had pointed out the convents and churches which they were to attack, because he ascribed his fall to the clergy, and that it was Arnulf who excited the Magyars to new invasions. The clergy tried to impose this story on the ignorant multitude, but the nobility and people of Bavaria kept their absent duke in memory, and knew that the foreign plunderer was resistless because the brave Arnulf was no longer there.

King Conrad did nothing but look on in grief. He, a plaything of the clergy, had used up the forces of the empire and alienated the people and the nobility. And in gratitude for all he had done for the clerical aristocracy and the Church, the monkish legend invented the story that he did not sicken and die in consequence of the wound received at Ratisbon, but in consequence of a "divine curse." The king wished, so runs the tale, to remove from the high church of St. Emeran, which he had richly endowed, a precious book of the Gospels. The bishop of Ratisbon refused the king's request, laid the book on the altar, and said, "Whosoever takes this book from the church shall answer to God at the final judgment." The king, nevertheless, took it; but as he was mounting his horse at the church door, such a pain seized all his limbs that he restored the book. He fell sick, and died an early death. Such is the monkish legend.

It is certain that Conrad died on the 23d of December, 919, and was buried at Fulda. The bodily wound, which would not heal, finally brought the sick man to a sick bed; but sharper and more wasting than any wound to his body, was the pain in his heart at the devastations of the Magyars, at his own weakness, at the failure of his system of governing, at his having squandered the military forces of the nation—in brief, at his wasted life. In the presence of death, in the feeling that the hour was drawing nigh in which each man, high or low, appears before a judgment-seat, the tribunal of his own conscience, the tribunal of his survivors, the tribunal of God—in

this hour anxiety for the weal of the empire was the last and only care which occupied him. He recommended as his successor on the throne, not his brother Eberhard—he had no son—but his enemy, the enemy of whom he was well aware that his political views respecting the assumptions of the ecclesiastical princes were opposed to those which he, Conrad, had followed, and which now, on his death-bed, he saw by bitter experience were pernicious.

With his expiring strength he determined to give his country the man who alone, in his conviction, was equal to the heavy task of governing the empire in this period. He said to his brother Eberhard, "Take the crown treasures, but seek not the crown. We must look not to the splendor of our house, but to the common good of the country." With his dying breath he charged the noble Franks who stood about his bed

to tell to the whole race of the Franks, as their king's last will, that they must elect no one but Henry of Saxony to be the German king; only the most powerful man in the empire could really rule as king over the discordant elements, bring in order once again, and repel the foreign foe.

Conrad, in dying, exhibited a high spirit of patriotism. Priestly influence had led him astray, but the spirit of patriotism in clear beauty presented itself to his dying eyes in the glory of self-renunciation.

A powerful impression must have been made on the proud Franks by the death-scene of their king. Touched by the magnanimity of the dead, they obeyed his warning and last will in utter self-forgetfulness. Eberhard worked for Henry, not for himself. He and the nobles of Franconia labored, throughout the whole empire, to obtain a unanimous election of the Saxon duke by all the races; and it was on Frank territory, at Fritzlar on the Eder, in Lower Hesse, where the election of the new king took place. The late king's father signed himself, "Conrad of Fritzlar, Count of the Franks and Wetterau."



But those present at the election were mostly Franks and Saxons. They unanimously elected Henry, duke of the Saxons and Thuringians, to be king of the Germans; it is not ascertained whether the election took place in the April or in the May of 919.

The lips of the people have handed down a tale which explains the nickname by which this king is still known among the people. According to it, Eberhard, the duke of Franconia, and the other nobles, charged with delivering to Henry the certificates of his election and the crown jewels, found him on the Harz mountains, in a worn hunting-jacket, engaged in netting a covey of birds. Hence his name, Henry the Fowler.

The royal power thus came to the last German race that was annexed to the Frank empire, the race of the Saxons. But like Conrad I., Henry I. was not at once acknowledged by all the races.

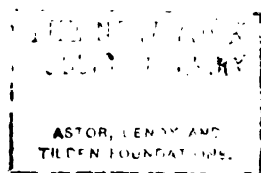
On the first certain intelligence of the death of King Conrad, Duke Arnulf with his wife and children returned from his mountain retreat among the Magyars to Bavaria. The nobility and people received him with joy, and urged him to make himself king, and rule them independently as King Arnulf and King Lewis had done. The duke, as the ecclesiastical annalist Liutprand writes, "had perhaps himself the desire to become king."

With the aid of the nobility and people, Arnulf rapidly strengthened the exterior defences of Ratisbon, and built a citadel in the town. To Henry's summons to acknowledge his election and take the oath of allegiance, a negative answer was returned.

King Henry had first gone to Swabia, to force the Duke Burchard and the Swabians to acknowledge him as king. The young duke, "this irresistible warrior with a passion for combat," as the monkish writer styles him, had been successful in a war against King Rudolf II. of Burgundy, and had defeated him at Winterthur; yet he was easily induced to acknowledge Henry and take the oath of allegiance to him. The king, indeed, took him by surprise, having suddenly entered his territory with a numerous army. But the king gained the duke of Swabia less by surprise than by friendly words and concessions of power, especially over the clerical nobles in this duchy. The king must have granted to Burchard rights over the convents and churches, and Burchard must have used to their full extent these royal grants, for the Swabian monks, in their annals, are very indignant at this duke. Burchard was not like Arnulf. Burchard had not wished to be king, either of the Swabians or of the Germans. He and the Swabians never had thought of such a thing, while the Bavarians in all seriousness desired their duke to be either king of the Germans or at least king of the Bavarians. Burchard and the Swabians had seen with bitter displeasure that Conrad I. allowed the spiritual princes and the clergy to play the lords in Swabia. As they all now perceived that King Henry was for the duke and the laity rather than for the clergy, they took his side in the year 919.

Henry, as soon as he had been elected king, took up a decided position with refer-

HENRY THE FOWLER.



ence to the Church. Heriger, the successor of Hatto in the see of Mainz, approached the king with the request that he allow himself, according to old usage, to be anointed and crowned. Henry declined. "There was no need for it," he said; "it was enough for him to be king by the grace of God and the election of the people."

These words implied that no one needed the priestly ceremonies of anointing and crowning to be a German king in the fullest sense. This was taken in bad part by the clergy. The bishops were not pacified by Henry's declaration that he was not worthy of such a great honor. They sought by various ways to change his mind. To influence both him and the people in this direction, they spread abroad, by means of the monks, a report that Peter, the prince of the Apostles, had appeared to Saint Afra, and shown her two swords, the one with, the other without a hilt. "Say to King Henry, cried Saint Peter, "the hiltless sword is a king who wishes to rule unblest by the hands of the priest; the hilted sword is one who rules by the Church's blessing." But it was all in vain. Henry the Saxon was resolute to be king without anointing or crowning by the hands of the clergy.

King Henry had seen with his eyes how these princes of the Church, with the view of raising themselves to predominance, to being supreme over the crown, the nobility and the people, had involved his predecessors in almost uninterrupted civil war, in ceaseless strife with the dukes and their people; how Germany, disunited on every side by these clerical nobles, had been desolated and plundered by the Slaves and Magyars; how the selfish churchmen looked coldly on all this, and were only zealous to become lords over the crown, the nobility and the people, even if all three were thereby to come to ruin.

Henry was a block cut from the Harz forest—a genuine old Saxon. From his early youth he had been “hostile to the priests and free,” although he, prudently, did not express his inner thoughts in words to the powerful Roman hierarchy. But all his actions show that he recognized the blessings of Christianity, but could distinguish between priestcraft and Christianity—that he wished to free both himself and the German people from the most dangerous of all bonds, from the bonds of the selfish priesthood which exhibited no feeling, no sense of patriotism, but only sense and zeal for its own interests, and the supremacy of the Church of Rome.

The two most dangerous foes of the empire were, internally, this rapacious and ambitious priesthood, disturbing alike prince and people, and, externally, the invading

Slaves and Magyars. To protect the German nation from both, it was politic of the king to sacrifice portions of the royal supremacy, and those not inconsiderable portions. Only by winning to his side the powerful lay nobles of the empire, and the people who were so attached to their native dukes, could he hope to give Germany peace within, and, by restored concord and unity, give security without. By no other way was this possible.

The king was sure of Swabia. He succeeded, but not so quickly, with Bavaria also. Duke Arnulf had a powerful force on his side. But when the king sat down before Ratisbon, and Arnulf beheld before the gates of the city the host which accompanied the king—the Swabians, once the allies of the Bavarians, and three of the four great German races in arms against him—he did not indeed despair of resistance, but he and the Bavarians had an ear for the words of his Swabian friends, and for the offers of the king.

It is clear that it was Duke Burchard of Swabia who negotiated between the king and the duke of Bavaria. The king offered favorable terms to the powerful Arnulf.

The duke of Swabia could show to him how King Henry had granted in Upper Swabia powers, usually deemed rights of the crown alone, over bishops, abbots and convents, and Arnulf, before all things, stipulated as a condition of his acknowledgment and submission, that he was to have over the Church in Bavaria those supreme rights which had previously been held the rights of the king. King Henry, who had already offered him confirmation in his dukedom, and a certain personal independence in the government of Bavaria, acceded gladly to Arnulf's wish. He granted him full power to install and depose bishops and abbots, and gave him other rights usually reserved for the king. Although Arnulf had not the title of king, yet he and his Bavarians were well content with the results of this friendly understanding.

Arnulf and his family left his stronghold at Ratisbon and entered the royal camp ; and, in the year 921, vowed allegiance and friendship to Henry the Saxon, and military service whenever called on.

The powers which the dukes had previously possessed, and the concessions of the king, made them rather friends and allies of the king than vassals of the crown ; they became almost absolute lords in their duchies, and could easily bring the nobles in their dominions into a relation in which they became rather feudatories of the dukes than immediate vassals of the empire.

In Swabia, and still more in Bavaria, the spiritual lords with their convents and churches became dependent on the dukes ; no longer immediate vassals of the empire, they became vassals of those whom they had long sought, with apparent success, to subjugate or destroy.

The government of Henry I. was a natural recoil against the unnatural influence and ambitious struggles of the Romish clergy ; it was a wholesome action of the lay element against the corrupting reaction of the clergy, which, under Conrad I., had brought the nation to its sick-bed, the country to desolation, the empire almost to dissolution.

Henry only gave other dukes the liberties which his father and he had exercised towards the clergy.

Bishops, abbots, abbesses complained to the king of Arnulf of Bavaria. The king listened to these complaints, but he found in them no reason for checking or interfering with the duke's government of his territory. This proves that Arnulf went no further than he was justified in doing by the understanding between him and the king. Arnulf was accused during his life, by the clergy, that he planned the destruction of many convents, whose estates he gave as fiefs to laymen. He had done, under like circumstances, exactly what Charles Martel had done in France. The Bavarian clergy avenged themselves by giving their duke the name of Arnulf the Bad.

Henry recovered for the empire the duke and land of Lorraine. Duke Reginar, who had submitted to the king of France, died in the end of the year 915, and his son Gisibert became duke of Lorraine. This duke, in the self-confidence of youth, became embroiled with his French sovereign, and the latter expelled him from his duchy. Gisibert took refuge with Henry in Saxony, where Henry was then but

duke. Henry's intercession with Charles the Simple allowed Gisibert to return to Lorraine, where he was restored to a part of his territory. Henry for a long time was on friendly terms with this king of France, and when King Conrad so suddenly ended his quarrel with the Saxon duke by a reconciliation, he was moved thereto by the knowledge that the Saxon might be reinforced by French as well as Lorraine auxiliaries, especially as Charles the Simple, the only surviving male descendant of the Carolingians on French territory, had previously put forward a claim as heir to Germany. But Henry as duke, had made no alliance with France.

Circumstances enabled Gisibert to make himself again duke of Lorraine. When Charles the Simple raised Hagano, one of his favorites, from a low rank to high honor, and made him his privy councillor and prime minister, the *grandeues* of France were discontented, and when he did not listen to their demands, became rebellious and revolted against the king. This revolt served Gisibert; he joined the revolvers, and obtained possession of his whole duchy.

The duke of Lorraine ascribed his previous expulsion to the clergy, and therefore acted in a way they were displeased at. He proceeded to great lengths; he made himself abbot of the richest convents in Lorraine, and, as abbot, granted many estates of this and that convent as fiefs to faithful laymen; retained for his own use the revenues of many convents, and took as a right belonging to the duke, the right of installing the clerical dignitaries in each convent, and even of installing to episcopal sees. When Hermann, archbishop of Cologne, in 920, declined to consecrate a bishop nominated by the duke to the see of Liege, Gisibert supported his order by armed force, and Hermann gave way and consecrated Hildwein.

It was very fortunate for the duke of Lorraine that his old friend, the duke of Saxony, had meanwhile become king of the Germans. When the king of France had again become master in his kingdom, German support was always necessary to maintain the duke in the possession of the whole of Lorraine. He sought for such aid, and held out a prospect of joining the German empire, a result for which King Henry worked diligently. But the moment for carrying through this project had not yet arrived. The higher clergy of France and Lorraine, by whom King Charles had been restored to power, supported him with such military forces that he was able to attack Germany, and to penetrate as far as Worms. He retreated, however, at the approach of Henry, and occupied Lorraine with his army, compelling Gisibert, by this means, to unite his troops with the French army. Henry did not attempt to recover Lorraine by force of arms. He wished to wait for a more favorable moment, but yet to use the present to benefit himself and the empire. He invited the French king to an interview. The two kings met on a raft in the middle of the Rhine, near Bonn, in one of the loveliest scenes of the German empire.

A treaty of alliance and friendship was formed; and a chief point in this treaty was the renunciation by Charles, the last French Carolingian, of all and every hereditary claims on a foot of German ground. He acknowledged Henry as legitimate head of Germany and his equal. By this treaty the independence of the German

empire was established in full legal and diplomatic form. If it had not much value, still the treaty was not valueless. Henry in return engaged not to continue the war for the reunion of Lorraine to the German empire. This took place on the 7th of November, 921.

Charles knew not how to govern; he became again involved in a civil war, which resulted unfortunately for him; he was taken prisoner by one of his rebellious nobles, and died after a long captivity, and with him perished on the 7th of October, 929, the last male scion of the race of Charles the Great in the Romanic half of what had been the empire of the Franks. Thus lamentably ended what once had been so great, what had shone like a prodigy to three-quarters of the world in the figure of the first Charles. And he who seized the French throne was one of a foreign and obscure stock.

As Gisibert of Lorraine had sided with the unfortunate Charles the Simple in this civil war, the new victorious king of France, supported by the enemies of Gisibert, deprived the latter of his duchy and his estates. He appealed to King Henry. The latter aided him; but not till after long struggles did he succeed, in 928, in reuniting Lorraine to the empire. The duke Gisibert acknowledged the feudal supremacy of the German king, and on his marriage with Henry's daughter Gerberga, received from his royal brother-in-law the same concessions which had been made to the dukes of Bavaria and Swabia.

By this way, which in the position of things was not only the quickest but the only road by which his end could be attained, Henry accomplished his purpose. The empire which he had received almost falling to pieces was again united; he had peace within the realm, and could now not only make it safe against external foes, but extend its limits at the expense of its enemies.

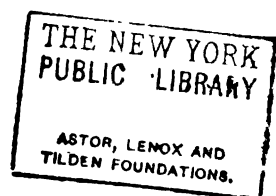
In the meantime the invasions of the Magyars had not altogether ceased, but, true to the alliance which they had formed with Duke Arnulf during his banishment, they spared the Bavarian territories; the land of their whilom guest was as sacred as the bond of hospitality. Saxony, on the contrary, they had devastated in the year when Henry was made king, that is, in 919, while he was occupied with his army in Swabia. "They returned to their homes from cruelly-harried Saxony with immeasurable booty and a very great number of captives of both sexes," is the statement of the *Annals of Corvey*. Five years elapsed before they again visited Saxony.

As soon as the Magyars had ascertained that Duke Arnulf had become friends with the German king, their enemy, they considered their friendship with him at an end; in the years 923 to 925 they made great inroads into Bavaria, ravaged this duchy and all the land as far as the Lake of Constance and the Spessart mountains in Lower Franconia. In 924 another Magyar inroad was directed against Saxony and Bohemia. Zoltan, the prince of the Hungarians, had reminded King Henry that the tribute due from Germany had remained long unpaid. Henry rejected the demand. In revenge they plundered and laid waste in a frightful manner the open country of Saxony. The king gave battle several times, but as his forces were inferior he avoided a



pitched battle. At last they forced him by stratagem to a decisive engagement at Peuchen, near Wurzen. He suffered a heavy defeat, and would have been taken prisoner had he not succeeded, with the remnants of his army, in cutting through the enemy, and reaching his fortified palace at Werle, at the foot of the Harz, into which he threw himself. This defeat was fortunate for him; victory produced carelessness in the Hungarians. With utter improvidence, they dispersed in a crowd of

small plundering bands, and swept through the land. A Saxon body of cavalry had the good luck to surprise one of these Hungarian detachments, and to capture its leader. King Henry did not know what a valuable prize they had taken, till the Magyars offered an immense ransom for the liberty of the prisoner. He evidently was one of the illustrious Magyars, probably Zoltan himself. King Henry rejected gold and silver; he offered to the captive and the envoys the liberty of the former





without ransom, and a certain tribute for nine years, if the Magyars would engage for so long a period not to disturb the land of Saxony and Thuringia.

The Magyars assented. Henry released his prisoner, and the invading hosts departed.

It is a proof of the noble spirit of the Magyars, that the German king trusted implicitly to the simple oath of this nation devoted to war and plunder. He was not deceived in them. These heathens kept the armistice for nine years, although they could easily have found pretexts to violate it. It seemed as if they wished to give the Christian world, already demoralized in the matter of oath-keeping, an example that plighted words and faith must be honorably kept.

This armistice was good only for Saxony and Thuringia. We must assume, in accordance with the king's whole character, that he made it an armistice for all Germany, under the arrangement that, as the duchy of Saxony had taken on itself a certain payment to the Hungarians—a thing Henry would not have sanctioned unless for weighty reasons of state—the dukes of Bavaria, Swabia, and Lorraine and those races should contribute a due proportion of the payment made to ensure the armistice. It was Henry's duty as king to conclude an armistice or a peace for the whole empire; and if as in the preceding case, where accurate accounts of the peace negotiations are wanting, the question arises, Who failed in their duty, the king or the dukes? we must decide for Henry. The dukes of Bavaria and Swabia must either have not accepted the arrangement in due time, or must have withheld the payment, for a new irruption of the Magyars in those countries took place in 926; their ravages extended as far as Lorraine. The contemporary Gerhard writes, "They plundered like the devil."

Convinced by bitter experience on their own soil of what the end of sectional feeling was, the Bavarians and Swabians assented to the covenant made with the Magyars by the king, or, at least, fulfilled its conditions. This is shown by the withdrawal of the enemy, who, during the whole time of the armistice, spared these countries also.

The dukes of Bavaria and Swabia had their hands unfettered in the internal government of their states; and if, in imitation of the king, they had done what he had done in the northeast, in Saxony and Thuringia, the whole of Germany would have been more secure against renewed attacks of the Hungarians. But they did not imitate him; he could not compel them to take the precautions he had taken in Saxony and Thuringia, the provinces of which he was duke, and which were immediately under his control.

His political sagacity, brilliantly justified by the results, had led the king to form the covenant with the Magyars. He had an eye that saw far, and a heart devoted to the empire which willingly accepted for the moment a personal humiliation, like that treaty, in order to gain time to prepare the means indispensable for freeing the German nation in perpetuity from the recurring attacks of the Magyars.

Wherever the Romans had extended their dominions in Germany, especially in Swabia and Alsace and in Bavaria, there were many strong cities and many fortified

places of smaller or greater extent. South Germany had been planted with convents and churches by the Carolingians, and these for the most part had been so well secured by buildings, walls, and towers, that they could resist attacks of cavalry. The fortified abbeys were not burnt by the Hungarians, who did not waste time in sieges, but the lightly-built huts of the country-folk, and cells just established and still poor were consumed.

It was quite different in Saxony and Thuringia. There the Romans had never built a fort, and the old Saxon love of liberty, during the long struggle for old freedom and old faith in the time of the Great Charles, had always destroyed the castles which the Frank intruders had built as seats of their tyranny. After that peace was made between Frank and Saxon, and the Frank officials had to give way to the native Saxons, the old Saxon mode of life revived. The Saxons, in the recollection that they had been seats of tyranny, razed the fortifications which the people, now in possession of them, could have used as works of defence. The fortresses built by Charles the Great mostly had been destroyed during the invasions of the Northmen and Slaves, partly were decayed. The Saxons and Thuringians lived, as in the oldest period of their history, partly in scattered homesteads in the midst of their plowed lands and meadows, partly in open villages; only here and there, a rarity in the wide expanse, a royal palace or a stronghold of a noble raised its head; only the seats of the clergy were walled in. There were but few larger places with walls in these districts; even cities, where they existed, lay quite open.

King Henry had asked for a nine years' armistice in order to remove the want of fortifications, and he employed the time in training his people for victory and in erecting in Germany, especially in Saxony, a series of defensive works behind which the countryman and his little all might take refuge, and which might serve as a mustering-place and cover for the soldier, for an army. As soon as the Magyars had departed, he labored zealously, with this view, in restoring the old fortifications and in building new ones. Indeed, he began with the last-named, for the most necessary thing to be done was to guard the frontiers against the Slaves. Favored by the internal commotions in the empire during the last decades, the Slaves and other Slavonic populations situated on the Saale and further to the northeast, had crossed the Middle Elbe, and, in conjunction with those Slaves whom Charles the Great had rewarded for their assistance against the Saxons, had penetrated into the empire. Henry's father had begun the conquest of the Sorbs, and Henry had completed it, driving the other Slavonic tribes out of German territory and across the Elbe; he thus had large districts of land to dispose of; they were his by right of conquest, and he made these districts on the frontiers bulwarks against Slavonic or Hungarian inroads by settling therein a crowd of Saxons, enfeoffed by him with greater or lesser estates under the obligation of military service. He gave a complete military constitution to these Saxon settlers. Their task was to be a watch on the borders, and to be ever ready for the fray.

In these borders and the next adjacent counties, the king erected the first new

castles; he here first surrounded considerable tracts with walls and towers. In these portions of the empire, influenced by the king's exhortations and by their own experience how necessary it was, thousands upon thousands of hands were in ceaseless activity; they succeeded each other in reliefs; day and night the work was urged on.

While these labors were going on in the frontier-districts, the king at the same time made new works and repaired old buildings in the interior of his duchy. His plan of military service was as follows: In the walled castles or burghs, every ninth man capable of bearing arms was placed. The rest had to till the fields, carry corn to the burghs, and deliver them to those in the burgh to guard for payment of one-third. The latter, the burghers, had to build house and granaries.

At the same time, Henry ordained that within these burghs, which must not be confounded with the earlier castles of the nobility, all meetings, reviews of arms, festivities, entertainments, and amusements of the members of the adjacent communities should be held; also all judicial diets, with a view to make these burghs, the future Saxon cities, more acceptable to the people.

This last regulation showed that Henry possessed great sagacity in governing, and his military innovations proved that he was a far-sighted strategist and tactician. This last regulation was devised for the promotion of trade; that there might be frequent intercourse between those within and those without the walls, and that thus the burghers might become industrious and prosperous. His other ordinance served two purposes—the maintenance of the burghers, and, by the payment of a third of the produce, a provision against famine in case of a siege; the case of a foreign invasion was provided for by the order that the ninth man who was placed in the burgh, had to prepare dwellings and store-rooms for his eight fellows who tilled the fields, in order that they might take refuge and preserve themselves and their crops therein.

His politic measures went still further. The long internal and external wars had created a low stamp of men whom their trade of war left at the armistice without an occupation and without bread—of men who now, without leaders, gave themselves up to a life of robbery and theft, of men without property or home, of men who had sunk and had no prospects; and the number of such was not small. But among them were the most hardened and experienced soldiers, who had stout hearts under ragged jerkins, and who had every requisite for serving their country well instead of injuring it, if the right way was adopted with them. Henry knew what way to adopt. He proclaimed an amnesty for all these men, who had placed themselves outside the law; he gave those who were found serviceable, land and arms, and settled them in the suburb of Merseburg and in Keuschberg, with the obligation to keep the peace with the inhabitants of the empire, and to assist in its defence, and with permission to make inroads at pleasure into the territories of the Slaves, with a view to amuse them and keep up their practice in their trade of arms.

This oldest German military colony on German soil, this institution of Frontier-guards (Granizer) by Henry I., was so successful that when Henry, two years later, marched against the Bohemians, it was able to furnish a thousand men.

Merseburg had been, since the ninth century, the capital of the county of the same name, which included Memleben, Wurzen, Rochlitz, Pleisnig, and other places. Henry chose Merseburg as one of the places in which he loved to stay. The strictly organized military settlements on the frontiers—which system he extended to other districts also—made themselves remarkable through their valor in Henry's wars; they were, in a certain degree, the beginning, if one can so describe it, of a standing army; the name Keuschberger, or Merseburger, which originally was the appellation of the military colony, extended itself, as often happens, to other similar colonies in other parts.

The chief town of the county of Merseburg, which hitherto had been what is called an open city, without being, however, anything like what one understands by a civil community or municipality, was surrounded by Henry with walls, towers and moats; he fortified it on all sides. He then proceeded to fortify Nordhausen in Thuringia, Gronau in Brunswick, and other open towns, which soon had a large population.

Among these newly-established strongholds are Quedlinburg, Goslar, Meissen, Wittenberg, and Soest. Hence, in later days, Henry derived his name of the "Builder of cities"; but it was time, not King Henry, that made these strongholds into towns. In his day they had neither the rights nor the constitution of the later German cities. They were at first simply companies of military servants, garrisons of fortresses with certain privileges which Henry had granted them. Only the foundation was there on which, under favorable circumstances, the true city life with its municipal independence could arise. The security which they furnished to person and property must soon have attracted many freemen into their walls; there must have been there royal officials, merchants, hostelries, trades of all kinds, increasing in number as the population increased; and thus with time, as men's minds and external circumstances developed, these burghs became legally-ordered cities, the soldiers of the burgh became independent citizens.

This was one side of the improved condition of defence in which Henry endeavored to place the empire, and which he carried out in a short time in the territories immediately subject to him. The other side was a thorough revolution in the German military system.

The superiority of the Magyars in the open field consisted indisputably in the great numbers of their cavalry, and the activity with which, on their swift steeds, they scoured the country, or fought in close ranks, or broke into separate detachments, or wheeled from one side of the battlefield to the other. This style of fighting, to which the Germans had not been accustomed, was often fatal to the latter. The German cavalry was not merely weaker in numbers, it was also clumsy and helpless.

The changes in the military system which were introduced by Charles the Great, his overstraining of the obligations of military service, the abuses of officials, and his undermining the spirit of liberty in the people, had much weakened the once warlike spirit of the Germans. When the military service passed all bounds, repugnance to it became an abhorrence of war, and the number of those who surrendered their rights

as freemen to escape service in the field, especially as cavalry, increased beyond all measure. At the beginning of the tenth century, everywhere in Germany, where once there had been only freemen, the smaller freeholders had become retainers of the clergy or nobility. The gallant spirit which the freeman possessed no longer existed in the hearts of the unfree in their depressed condition, nor did the practice of arms. At the time of Charles the Great, two-thirds of the army consisted of freemen; but in the last third of the ninth century the army counted more unfree than free. The greater part of these unfree men was not immediately dependent on the head of the empire, but on clerical or lay grandees; the freemen alone were at the absolute disposal of the king or his military officers. And this, too, weakened the army; for the interference, the good or bad will of the bishops, counts and other lords, who led the men they had to furnish for the army, must have had some influence on the unity of command.

The terrible, ever recurring inroads of the Magyars reduced the numbers of small freeholders, especially in southeastern and northeastern Germany. The wild Hungarian hordes dragged away with them old and young, man and woman, whatever fell in their power and escaped death. When the choice was offered to lose life, or, if fortunate, only liberty at the hands of the Magyars, or to become subjects of the great nobles, and thus obtain protection and refuge in the cities and castles and fortified convents, thousands upon thousands, in terror at these savage hordes, chose the latter as they saw themselves defenceless in their open villages, and in their simple dwellings and huts on their farms. It was only to vassals or to those who would become such, that the nobles opened their places of refuge. To become the retainers of ecclesiastical and temporal princes was better than to be dragged away by the Hungarians into hard slavery into some far distant land. Men thus bought at the price of freedom the protection of the great; the unfree kept increasing in number, and the nobles by this increase of their dependents became still more powerful. This dependence was graded from simple obligation to render certain payments down to the slavery of the serf; but it was in the power of the lord to raise the sum paid higher and higher, and to depress the villein into a perfect slave, without any regard to the conditions of the covenant under which, at the hour of need, a small freeholder had surrendered himself and his property to the protection of a lord; the weak had no power to hold the mighty to their bargain. A lord who did not wish to keep the covenant he had agreed to, made actual changes by force; the clergy altered the written agreements in their chartularies with a few strokes of a pen.

In Swabia, Bavaria, Franconia and Thuringia, although perhaps not in Saxony, the lords, spiritual and temporal, had proceeded to great lengths in stripping the people of their liberties; and King Henry, by his founding and restoring the strongholds, checked proceedings which were always a derogation to the power of the crown. Thousands in the day of necessity found protection in his fortresses without being compelled to surrender their property and liberty.

How far the other portions of the empire, Franconia, Bavaria, Swabia, Lorraine,



imitated the example which was set by Henry in Saxony and Thuringia is not definitely known ; it depended on the good will of the respective dukes. We only know that in Bavaria and Lorraine the old cities planted by the Romans were fortified afresh, and walls substituted for the previous earthen ramparts and iron parapets. The same happened in Swabia where numerous strongholds existed from the Roman period. It is not, however, probable that the dukes of these countries went hand in hand with the king in any attempt to protect the free owners of property from loss of liberty, and to retain them as freemen for the empire ; nobles, both clerical and lay, with some brilliant exceptions, had not only been, but always were foes of liberty and municipal life. The many free peasant-communities in Upper Swabia which, here and there, on both sides of the Lake of Constance, retained their freedom down to this century, have to thank themselves for their escape, and not any duke. These peasants, moreover, have never laid aside the habit of bearing arms.

The Saxons and the Alemanni, the peoples among whom popular liberty was strongest, clung fast to their old rights even in the lifetime of Charles the Great ; they kept the knowledge of their old rights in their heads and hearts, and despised the imperial prohibition to appear in arms at public meetings. In spite of the heavy penalties denounced for so doing, they came to their public meetings armed. Even at the meeting of the clergy at Mainz, in 813, the laymen who accompanied the Saxon and Alemannian bishops appeared in arms in the presence of the emperor ; and the ecclesiastical princes declared they could not forbid their escort to bear arms, for this was a custom that had come down from their fathers, an original right of every German.

Charles did not think it advisable to oppose this adherence of the above-named races to their "old right" with the severity of the law ; the most of the pure German races exhibited a decided repugnance to acquiesce in any of his alterations of the law, alterations that trenched deeply on their "old right." The Frisians never accepted his system of Schöppen courts. The Alemanni, Bavarians and Saxons had allowed it to be introduced, but made little use thereof. They preserved the old along with the new institutions. As a rule, sentence was pronounced by the members of the Gau present in the judicial meeting, not by the tribunal of the Schöppen.

The cavalry system of the Emperor Charles had never been introduced into Saxony ; in the other races it soon became neglected, for Charles died two years after its promulgation, and his successor was utterly unlike him. It was not, however, forgotten ; King Henry borrowed a portion of it. The conquest of the Magyars could be expected only from a numerous and well-trained cavalry. Henry therefore made the cavalry the core of his army ; he began with the Saxons and Thuringians. All his vassals had to perform their military service on horseback, and even the servitors and serfs of the latter had to appear mounted. The king had a number of clerical and temporal lords as his vassals, and they again had under them numerous retainers and serfs ; he thus had at once a numerous body of horse at his disposal. He organized frequent sham fights, and practiced whole squadrons in the style of fighting peculiar

to the Magyars. These regular exercises were continued for a series of years. The core of his military levies, the cavalry, consisted for the most part of nobles, the nobles attached to the court and service of the king, the larger landed proprietors, and their retainers. The number of small landed proprietors was not great, because service on horseback involved a considerable expense which every one could not defray. In order, however, that the smaller freeholders might enter the cavalry, King Henry renewed the regulations of Charles the Great respecting the military levies; a certain number of men liable to military service, who could discharge cavalry duty, had in common to furnish one horseman fully equipped. Henry had made some alterations which rendered the service less irksome than it had been under Charles; the Saxons showed no trace of discontent, evidently from the lighter nature of the service and the honor which the freeman had in serving thus. Henry would never have excluded the small freeholder from the distinguished service of the cavalry, for he relied not on the aristocracy but on the people, who in numbers and capacity have always been the kernel of the nation.

Nor did he neglect the infantry; he introduced improvements in its organization; he, so to speak, created it afresh, and gave it a new training. The old German style of infantry fighting was to fight in large masses—to break by a phalanx, as the Greeks called it, the ranks of the enemy, and then to fight man to man. The new mode of fighting in which Henry drilled his Saxons was to fight in serried ranks, not in deep columns but in extended lines, so that they could not be outflanked or attacked in the rear. Like the cavalry, the German infantry were awkward and shiftless, but Henry trained them to rapid motion, to quick evolutions. The infantry was in its right place in the struggle against the Slaves; with the Magyars the battles were chiefly cavalry combats, in which the infantry could only form a second line.

When Henry had thus secured by his fortifications the exposed Marches of his empire and reformed his German army, he determined to make trial of his arms against the Slavonic tribes.

These Slaves (Wends) on the frontier had, whenever the Magyars invaded the empire, made common cause with them. There was bitter enmity between German and Slave, a hate more fierce because it grew from two roots—from diversity of nationality, and diversity of religion. The Slaves, like the Magyars, were still heathen. Moreover, they were dwelling on German territory, and had expelled or subjugated the Germans who had once lived there in freedom.

The Dalemincians in the country now called Meissen, the Abodrites in Mecklenburg, the Rhedarians southeast of them, extending from the Havel to the Peene, the Hevellers on both sides of the Havel and on the lower Spree, and other branches of the great Slavonic family of nations, who had settled on the Elbe and Havel as far as the Oder, were now occupying German territory.

It had long been among Henry's plans to bring them to submission and Christianity, to conquer and convert them. He had, in this view, as early as 924, attacked the Dalemincian Wends, and this attack had set the Magyars in motion; the Dale-

minicians had demanded their assistance. Now, in 928, when the solemnly-ratified armistice kept the Magyars at a distance, he renewed his campaigns against the Slaves, with the special view of practising his new levies in actual war against weaker foes till they were in a condition to try their strength with the stronger foe, the Magyars.

He first directed his march against the Hevellers. Their city Brennaborg, the present Brandenburg, succumbed after a long resistance. The conquest of the whole country of the Hevellers followed its fall. The Daleminicians were next attacked. After a siege of twenty days, he took their town. From this, the present country of Meissen, the victorious Henry marched against the Abodrites and defeated them, then the Rhedarians and the Witzen, one Wendish tribe after another. His success was easier inasmuch as these Slaves made no united resistance, although it was clear that Henry would attack them in succession, and that all would be finally subjugated by him if they allowed themselves to be beaten in detail. Even in these Slavonic tribes, neither danger nor distress could raise up to a national spirit and to a common resistance the petty sectional spirit, the mean jealousy, of the various tribes against each other.

The heroic courage with which each of these small tribes fought for its independence, its homes and its faith, could not atone for the folly of isolation. After a hot struggle of almost four years, from 928 to 932, King Henry had completely conquered the last of these Slavonic tribes, and the German king ruled again over almost all the land between the Elbe and the Oder.

But the glory of the German victory over these unfortunate heathen appears darkened and soiled by the cruelty, nay, by the inhumanity, into which, as everywhere, Christian wars of religion degenerated. In the year 929, when Henry, after having completed the subjugation of the Wendish tribes, marched against the Bohemians, a portion of the former revolted. As the Saxons could not endure the violence and bigotry of the Franks, so these Slaves found unendurable the conduct of the Saxons. The Rhedarians were the first to rise and summon all the Slaves in their neighborhood to a general insurrection against the Germans, to assert their national independence. The feeling of the Rhedarians was so bitter that they put to the sword the whole German population, when they had surprised and stormed the German fortress of Wallislewe, either Fallersleben in Luneburg, or Valsleben between Werben and Arneburg.

But before the other Wends had united into one body, the Germans had again subdued the insurgent but sadly weakened Slaves after a decisive engagement on the 1st of September, 929. The shortness of the Bohemian campaign had made this an easy performance for the Germans.

The king had gone with a strong army to Bohemia. He went as over-lord and judge, for this dukedom stood in a feudal relation towards the empire. The Bohemians had been reduced under the supremacy of the German empire at the close of the ninth century, but they did not long respect the arrangement. After the death of the two brother dukes Spitigneff and Wratislaw, Bohemian parties were divided

between two women—the aged mother of the two dukes, Ludmilla, who was a Christian, and Drahomira, a sister of the prince of the Hevellers, and widow of Wratislaw. Drahomira was a heathen. She had borne two sons, Wenceslaw and Boleslaw. The former, under the influence of Ludmilla, was gentle, and in heart a devoted Christian like his grandmother; the latter had much of the heathen, violent, and domineering spirit of his mother. Drahomira was the guardian of the minors, and conducted the government in Bohemia. The gentle Ludmilla was the darling of the people, and Wenceslaw clung to her. The jealousy of Drahomira demanded the sacrifice of the aged grandmother of Wenceslaw, and she was strangled by the national heathen party, or, according to the saga, by Drahomira herself, on the 15th of October, 927, in her castle of Tetin. The proud grandees of Bohemia regarded her

as the chief foe of the olden gods and the old freedom. Drahomira's party hated not only Christianity, but everything German, and had no desire to acknowledge the supremacy of the German empire.

Against such proceedings in Bohemia the German king took the field. The strength of his army was increased by the addition of the Bavarians under their duke Arnulf, who brought his best troops into the field. For the first time after a long interval Saxons and Bavarians marched side by side in the service of the German empire.

At the approach of the king's forces to Prague, Wenceslaw, now in his twentieth year, took the government from the hands of his mother. She and her party would have made it a war of nationality and religion. Wenceslaw, a Christian and a lover of peace, was inclined, for the sake of the ecclesiastical connection, to retain Bohemia

in its connection with the German empire, and wished to avoid the contest with the German king.

The conversions of Charles the Great among the Slaves were as transitory as his conquests. The archbishops of Salzburg and Lorch, whose rights in after times devolved on the Bishop of Passau, had undertaken the task of converting their Slavonic neighbors on the Danube by means of the spiritual jurisdiction granted to them; but the diffusion of Christianity among the Slaves met with three obstacles: national hatred of any dependence on the empire; ignorance of the German as well as of the Latin tongue; the oppressive demands of the Christian priesthood. After the introduction of Christian preaching and Christian worship in the Slavonic tongue had been introduced into Moravia by two Greek monks, Cyrillus and Methodius, in 863, Christianity took some hold on the Moravians. The Pope of Rome was prudent enough to allow the celebration of public worship in Slavonic in the year 880, "because God ought to be praised by all nations, and understood in all languages." But the German archbishops of Salzburg and Lorch, and the German clergy in general, were set against sermons and worship in the Slavonic tongue and use. A Slavonic national church appeared to them an abomination; and after the fall of the Moravian empire the Slavonic form of Christian worship maintained itself with difficulty in Moravia. Towards the end of the ninth century, Methodius had succeeded in gaining to the Christian faith Ludmilla, the wife of Duke Borziwoi of Bohemia, and Borziwoi himself. Many followed the example of their duke and duchess. Ludmilla's holy life and beneficence had won for Christianity many of the lower classes of the Bohemians. But hence arose a division of belief through the country as well as in the reigning family.

King Henry's army reached Prague without much bloodshed. It was for the king's interest, from religious and political grounds, to make Christianized Bohemia a bulwark against the Magyars. It was for the duke's interest to obtain in the king of the Germans a sure support against his brother Boleslaw, who was the head of the national party. Thus, in 929, without further contention, a treaty was made between the German king and the Bohemian duke. Wenceslaw received Bohemia as a fief from the king, promised allegiance to the German empire, and undertook to pay, what was for wealthy Bohemia a very moderate tribute, the sum of five hundred marks of silver and one hundred and twenty head of cattle.

This wise moderation of the king made a good impression on the Bohemian people, although it did not reconcile the heathen national party, the Bohemian nobility, who still allowed to smoulder in their hearts a hatred of everything German, not merely against subordination to Germany, but against Christianity, and who only waited a favorable moment to let it burst forth. Boleslaw, the leader of this party, continued to hope to deprive his brother by this means of his power in Bohemia. Unfortunately, Wenceslaw, the future "Saint Wenzel," was not formed to govern his duchy with the wisdom of King Henry. In his zeal to convert the Bohemians altogether to Christianity, he displayed want of tact; "he propagated Christianity like a monk more

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*KING HENRY BY THE CORPSE OF ADALBERT OF BABENBERG.*

than a prince," is the remark of the historian Hase. The hostile party, however, made no attempts against Wenceslaw as long as King Henry lived; the terror which his power and character inspired kept down every movement of hatred.

The result of the conquest over the other Wendish tribes, the Hevellers, Daleminians, and Abodrites, was the foundation of the Markgraviates of Lusatia, Meissen, and North Saxony (the later Old March of Brandenburg).

The nine years of the armistice made with the Hungarians drew near its end. The king had placed in the most important points of the conquered Slavonic country German soldiers, and established bishoprics therein. He now saw his preparations for the decisive contest with the Hungarians completed, his army trained in previous wars with the Slaves and inspired by his victories. Any day Magyar envoys might appear to collect the annual tribute which he had hitherto paid under compulsion. Determined to break with the Magyars, unshaken in his purpose of throwing off this tributary condition, to which he had acquiesced from national policy under quite different circumstances, he refused, for reasons of the same national policy, to pay once more the yearly tribute, although it was due; had he done so, he would have impaired the means which were indispensable to him for a war against the Hungarians, and strengthened the resources of the enemy with whom war was now unavoidable.

The king resolved, however, not to take upon himself alone the withholding of the tribute due; he summoned a general assembly of the Saxons and the Thuringians. In this he spoke to them of the internal peace of the empire, of the victory which, by God's grace, he had won over the Slaves. "All are conquered!" he exclaimed; "only the Hungarians, those heathens, stand up against us. They again demand tribute. Hitherto I have been compelled to give what belonged to your children to enrich these enemies. See how silent they are respecting all they have torn from us! His naked limbs are all they have left the freeman. The Church still has property. Must we give up the churches now and what is consecrated to God's service? Must we rob the servants of God to purchase a dishonorable peace from the enemies of God? If further tribute is to be paid to the Hungarians, the property of the Church must be encroached on. Ought we not rather, as befits Germans, in full confidence that He who is in truth our Lord and Redeemer will redeem us now, throw off the shameful tribute, destroy the enemy, and then give to the Church what the enemy demands from us?" With one voice the assembly rang with the cry, "Yea, so be it! We are Christians! To the war! to the war against the heathen!" The whole immense assembly "raised solemnly their right hands to heaven, and vowed to stand by the king against the savage hereditary enemy," as the chronicler Widukind writes in his biography of Henry. And thousands of Saxon and Thuringian swords clashed on their clanging shields in warlike glee.

The envoys of Zoltan arrived. The king communicated the resolution of the assembly of his people, which had been held about the end of the summer of 932. In the same year, therefore, soon after it, powerful squadrons of Magyar horsemen under



Zoltan in person poured into Bohemia, and he summoned the Bohemians and the Dalemincian Wends to unite with him. But the Dalemincians did not join him any more than the Bohemian Wenceslaw did. On this unhappy Wendish tribe the hand of the Germans lay heavy; but it had learnt by experience that the protection of the Magyars was still heavier than the yoke of the Germans. It had not forgotten that they whom they had called in as friends and protectors were those who had delivered them, weakened and exhausted, to the swords of the Germans. Instead of allowing their armed youth to join the Magyars, they sent into their camp a mangy dog. Zoltan deferred to punish this insolence of the Wends, and attacked Thuringia.

This country suffered terribly from the Hungarian hordes in the winter of 932 and 933; it was so exhausted that Zoltan saw himself compelled to divide his army because the country could no longer support the troops. His flying columns entered Saxony. One column moved on Sondershausen, another on Merseburg, whither the king's sister and her husband Wido, count of the Thuringians, had fled.

In four days after the summons to arms, the Saxons and Thuringians were gathered round their king. But Henry waited for two events: first, the arrival of the contingents from Bavaria and other portions of the empire which were hurrying up to fulfil their military obligations; secondly, the arrival of the moment on which he had reckoned when the host of the Magyars would be compelled, from want of supplies for man and beast, to divide, and would, in their improvident fashion, scatter themselves abroad in numerous bands of horsemen. When Henry perceived the moment had come, he hastened to surprise one of the Magyar detachments. Just recovered from a sickness, and still feeble, he donned his armor and mounted his charger. He soon fell in with the first weak detachments of the Hungarians. "If we must," he cried, "yield to this savage people, which knows not Christianity and is the enemy of God, let this fate befall us in battle; it is an easy thing for the Most High to grant to the weak the victory over the strong, if his faith render him worthy of victory. But it needs a faith which lives in the heart, not in words; which shows itself, not in professions, but in actions." He then arrayed the battle.

A light armed body to which he added some heavy armed men, mostly Thuringians, was sent in advance; they were to allure the Magyars to come nearer to his main army. Then the main army in close-locked ranks—this is his express order—was to advance against the enemy, receive the first flight of arrows on their shields, and before the Hungarians could fit another arrow to the string, was to charge all at once with their lances. The advanced corps attack with the battle cry, "Kyrie eleëson!" (Lord, have mercy upon us!) The Magyars respond with a frightful "Hui, Hui," and gallop forward. The shower of arrows is broken on the shields of the serried German ranks, when, suddenly and altogether, the whole German horse come down with their long spears on the astonished Magyars. The German left turns the right wing of the enemy. In the heat of the pursuit, this wing of the Germans falls into disorder, but receives reinforcement, rallies itself, renews and decides the battle. The princes of the Hungarians lie slain, their horsemen scatter in wild dismay, they

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HENRY I. DEFEATS THE HUNGARIANS.

are almost annihilated by the pursuing Germans. The Germans had many deaths on their side, but the whole rich camp of the enemy is in their hands, and swarms of German prisoners who were found in it thus recovered their liberty.

This victory over the Hungarians appears to have been fought by the Saxons and Thuringians alone; the place is not ascertained, but it probably was at Jechaburg, not far from Sondershausen. The Bavarian and other contingents did not come up till after the battle, when the Saxon army, elated by victory, and with greater confidence, was marching in haste against the Magyar troops, which had followed another direction.

These had learnt that the king and all the dwellers round Merseburg had placed their most valuable property in this stronghold. While some Hungarian swarms plundered the country round about, the chief body encamped between "Riade" and Merseburg. "Riade" is probably the present Rietheburg on the Unstrutt. Lusting

for the treasures of Merseburg, the Magyars assailed the walls of the fortress, as well as the neighboring fort of Keuschberg. The garrisons defended themselves gallantly. The setting sun interrupted the combat. Fugitives from the battle at Jechaburg bring to the Hungarian camp the tidings of the defeat of their other detachment, and of the speedy approach of the German king. Thereupon flames flash up in the night; the flames from huge piles of wood which the Hungarians kindled in their camp and on the heights; they are the customary "fire signals" which recalled the foraging parties.

When the van of the Germans appeared, the Magyars retired in haste. The fugitives from the battle-field of Jechaburg must have brought appalling news. The main army of the Hungarians flees in a perfect panic; it leaves the whole camp standing. For two leagues the German horse pursues the fugitives; but few were overtaken, captured, or slain. In this camp also many German prisoners and much plunder were found. Henry and his army kneel and give thanks to God.

The day of this victory is the 15th March, 933. The locality of the second victory is as little ascertained as that of the first; we are sure, however, that both victories were won in the district watered by the Saale.

Although these Hungarian hordes escaped the pursuers who chased them from the field, yet the greatest part of them perished during their retreat by three other foes—by the sword of the German tribes whose lands they traversed in their flight, by cold, and by hunger.

Among the dead who purchased this victory with their blood, was Adalbert II. of Babenberg, the son of that Adalbert who had been beheaded for high treason by the craft of Bishop Hatto. After the death of his father he had been placed during his nonage under the protection of Otto the Illustrious, King Henry's father. There he had grown up to be a hero, and to continue a race which was destined to count many famous descendants.

The memory of this victory and this deliverance is to this day annually celebrated in the village of Keuschberg on the Saale by a sermon and the reading of an account of the battle from an ancient chronicle.

To this day the people of Keuschberg show a block of stone with marks that look like a hoof and a hand, and the old saga relates that King Henry's horse, as he rode before his army, trod on the stone which retained the impression of the hoof, and the king himself placed his flat hand on the same block and cried, "As surely as by God's almighty power a memorial of this day is wondrously impressed on the hard stone, so surely will he give us the victory."

As long as Henry I. lived, the Hungarians did not venture to enter German territory. Germany was freed from payment of tribute. So richly was the king rewarded for what he had planned and executed for the defence of the empire. That he passed into legend is no wonder; during his lifetime the German people sang lays of the

battle and the victors. Concerning the chief Christian banner, in which the Archangel Michael was represented as the conqueror of Satan, the great dragon, and which had been displayed before the king at the beginning of the flight, the saga relates, "The Hungarians, after their defeat, believed that the God of the Christians had wings, and could therefore quickly come to their aid. Therefore they likewise fitted wings heavy with gold on their graven images."

Through all Germany—nay, through all Christendom—there was spread the fame of King Henry, the conqueror of the hitherto unconquerable Magyars. The glory of this German king had even previously passed the bounds of Germany; and the English king, Athelstan, when King Henry asked him for one of his sisters for his eldest son Otto, sent them both to Cologne for him to choose from. Otto's choice was Edith, whom he married. But in all his fortunes King Henry remained humble. The property plundered from the Germans and recovered in the booty of the Magyars, he restored to the original losers; the rest of the spoils he gave to destitute soldiers and to churches, especially to that of Quedlinburg; he kept nothing for himself. He made haste, however, to employ the powerful impression of his victory over the Magyars, while it was still fresh, against a northern enemy of the German empire—against the Danes.

The Danes under their Christian-hating Gorm had supported the Slaves, and plundered in Saxony. In 880, Bruno, the uncle of Henry, had perished in an unsuccessful battle with the Danes. The Danes had taken possession of the whole markgraviate of Schleswig which had been erected by Charles the Great between the Eider and the Schlei, and, moreover, all the land north of the Elbe. The German population was driven out by the Danes, and hurled across the Elbe. It is true that the Saxons had gradually by successive struggles recovered a portion of their lost territory, but there was no security for these conquests so long as the whole was not in the possession of Germany. Therefore Henry set out in 934, with an army that commanded respect, to secure the Frisian and Saxon coasts from the piratical Danes. Gorm the Old, the king of the Danes, hitherto successful in so many battles with his neighbors, did not find it advisable to measure swords in the field with the celebrated conqueror of the Magyars who was now coming into his territory. Henry penetrated into Jutland, and demanded the old boundary of the empire. The Schlei and the Treene had been, even under Charles the Great, the border between the Danes and Germans. Gorm acquiesced in Henry's demands, and engaged further to pay an annual tribute.

Henry placed a new markgrave over the districts restored by Gorm. The boundary line was drawn at Schleswig. This was the northern boundary of Germany. In the March of Schleswig Henry placed, for the most part, Saxon soldiers, and divided the recovered districts among them as fiefs, held under the like obligations as existed for the frontier guard in the districts conquered from the Slaves in the east of the empire. The March of Schleswig was a military colony, and the place Schleswig, which he strongly fortified, received the same institutions and franchises as Merseberg and other fortified places in the east of the empire. Sliaswig or

Schleswig, of which, as a town, there is no trace before the ninth century, in consequence of King Henry's franchises became an emporium of such importance that, as Weinhold has shown, "the fame of it reached even distant Arabia."

King Henry thus saw the German empire secured against enemies on the north, the east, and the west, and at the same time tranquil at home. The great vassals, once so haughty, bowed before his power. It was felt throughout the empire, it was felt beyond the empire, that the German throne was filled by a king who was a king indeed.

It has been assumed that Henry now intended to make a pilgrimage to Rome to receive the imperial dignity from the Pope. But this assumption ill accords with the character of the man. The man who, after his election as king, had rejected the anointing and coronation offered by the archbishop of Mainz, and who set such a value on having been elected without the assistance of the clergy and on ruling independently of them—this man could not have desired to be anointed and crowned as emperor by the Pope. Yet there was another thing which closely concerned a king like Henry, that was the restoration of the connection between Germany and Italy. But this he was fated not to see.

He was attacked with apoplexy when near his sixtieth year. He thought on the end of his days, and care for the future of the kingdom was his first thought. He called the crown officials and the grandees of the empire to Erfurt to consult with them respecting the succession in the German kingship. Henry I. was very far from wishing to alter the old principle according to which Germany was an elective kingdom, and to introduce, in the favor of his house, the principle of hereditary descent. Those who met at Erfurt to consult respecting the succession were all agreed that the crown must remain in his house. He then recommended to them, out of the number of his sons, the one whom he thought most capable of governing the empire.

None of his sons demanded the succession; he did not propose, he only recommended his son Otto when the crown officials and the grandees of the empire at Erfurt assembled had resolved among themselves to choose his successor out of his house.

The son of his first love could not be taken into consideration. He was named Thankmar (Tammo). As the hard-hearted priest Sigmund, bishop of Halberstadt, had insisted on the dissolution of Henry's marriage with Hatheburg, and had torn the lovers apart without pity, although the young wife already bore beneath her heart the pledge of mutual love, Thankmar had at his birth been declared a bastard by the sentence of the clergy because he had been born after the Church's declaration of nullity in regard to this marriage. Thankmar, although brought up by his father in his court, and his father's first-born son, occupied an inferior position to the legitimate son both in popular estimation and by ecclesiastical principles. The Saxons had, moreover, a preference for the children of Henry's second wife, because she was of the race of their national hero Widukind. Matilda had an advantage through her descent in the hearts of the Saxon people, which clung so closely to its

past and to its historical reminiscences. And the love of the people for her was increased by her beauty, her grace, her spirit, and she is now still honored by the Catholic Christian as a saint. She bore to her beloved Henry three sons and two daughters. Bruno, the youngest, had embraced the ecclesiastical state; Otto, the eldest, was the favorite of his father; Henry, the second, of his mother. Henry had been born when his father was king; his elder brother Otto when he was only duke. This gave confidence to him, and when the grandees assembled at Erfurt had positively determined to choose Henry's successor from Henry's house, Henry had a party in his favor, as Otto had. But it was Otto whom the king recommended to them as the most capable of reigning, and the result proved that Henry I. had even at the approach of death the welfare of his kingdom in his thoughts, and that he had taken good care of the kingdom when he recommended Otto.

This was Henry's last act as king. From Erfurt he retired to his palace of Memleben on the Unstrutt. Here another attack of apoplexy seized him. The words are preserved which, in the consciousness of inevitable death, he spake to Matilda, and they bear all the marks of genuineness. "O thou whom I justly love," he said, "I thank the Lord that I leave thee living, dear wife, than whom never man found a truer; I thank thee for all the gentleness with which thou didst soothe me when I was angry; I thank thee for all the good counsel thou hast given me; I thank thee for having oft led me from unreasonableness to justice; I thank thee for thy exhortations to pity the oppressed. To God Almighty and the intercession of His elect I commend thee and our children and my soul, which is now about to leave this body."

Queen Matilda went to the church to pray for her Henry. But the sons and the nobles, as many as were there, remained around the king's dying bed. When Matilda returned from the church, Henry I. had ceased to live. Trembling, she said to her sons, "Fear God, and in all things honor Him who is able to do such things." Very seasonable was the mother's warning, that the Almighty can suddenly lay low as lifeless corpses kings as well as beggars; that the bodies of princes fall into dust as well as the body of the slave; for Otto had a proud, high-aiming soul.

The 2d of July, 936, was the day of Henry's death. He was buried in the Church of St. Peter in the convent transferred from Wendhausen to Quedlinburg, the only convent he had richly endowed and named as his burial-place.

Henry I., the ancestor of the royal and imperial house of Saxony, was a sovereign nobly planned. The most different qualities were mingled in him in perfect harmony. His strong instinct was love of his country; the welfare and the grandeur of the German nation formed the pole around which everything in him revolved. He loved Matilda fondly, as she loved him; he was a warm friend to his friends, a lover of a cheerful circle, of games and jests. He favored the military aristocracy and the feudal life, and at the same time spared and loved the people; he sought to rescue and preserve what remained of the freedom of the commons, and laid the foundation for future municipal life by the privileges and franchises granted by him to certain places. Personally he was of a stout, strong, soldierly figure; he was a valiant warrior in battle.



and a great general; at the same time his disposition was kindly, and open to the tenderest feelings. In order not to appear in the eyes of his wife as a partner in pronouncing sentence of death, he absented himself from the judgment-seat when he saw such sentence imminent; and yet he could be in the religious war against the Slaves pitiless to cruelty. From the bottom of his heart he was a Christian, full of zeal for religion, possessed by the faith of his time; for he not only bought and venerated relics, but ascribed to them a special blessing for his undertakings. At the same time he kept himself independent of the clergy, nay, in a kind of opposition to them. Justly perceiving that the clergy had too great political power in the empire, and that this had become a grievous injury to the king and the people equally, he did what he could to keep it in obedience to the laws and in dependence, and favored efforts in this direction when made by the lay nobles. His high intellectual gifts supported him in this; in strength of mind he was superior to the bishops of his time, and therefore was not compelled to employ them in the government, and allow himself to be ruled by them. He was not learned, but wise; his scientific education was not great, but he had a natural understanding that quickly saw what the moment and the weal of the kingdom demanded. With this natural gift, which of itself recognized what was necessary and right to be done, he united a rare power and perseverance in putting what he knew into execution. And because he had such a high understanding, he aimed only at what was attainable under the given circumstances, never at the ideal; at the useful, never at the brilliant; at what was good for his kingdom, not at what was romantic and alluring in the distance, not at what might place the person of the ruler in a brighter light, at the cost and the disadvantage of the whole. Active without weariness for his beloved Germany, he did not wait till something new was demanded or proposed, but he himself traversed his kingdom and saw and examined with his own eyes what was to be done away, what was to be improved, what new thing was to be created. He was, as much as any king before or after him, the darling of the people, beloved by them down to his death, and long after his death, as much as he was feared and respected abroad. Not merely the success of his undertakings in war and peace, not merely what he did for the people, but the man himself made him so dear to the people; his irreproachable, upright life, which despised all show, his simplicity incapable of hypocrisy, his openness and honesty, his winning affability, his moderation and circumspection, which, after occasional outbursts, always regained their power, which belonged to the very foundation of his character, and which, wherever it was possible, preferred leniency to severity.

A character so grand, based on such qualities, strengthened by such exertions, deterred the clergy from opposing him. They durst not venture anything against such a man upon the throne—a man who had done so much with disproportionately small means. More brilliant kings and emperors came after him, but no one who shines in so pure, clear, and beneficent a light as King Henry the First, in reality beyond all comparison greater than his successor Otto, to whom the clergy gave the name of Great.

## CHAPTER XIV.

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OTTO THE FIRST—HIS LOVE OF POMP—THE ARCHFUNCTIONARIES—HIS APPEARANCE AND CHARACTER—HIS YOUTHFUL ERRORS AND THE CONSEQUENCES THEREOF—HIS STRUGGLE WITH HIS BROTHER THANKMAR AND THE DUKES—FABLES OF THE CLERGY RESPECTING THE DEATH OF ARNULF—OTTO'S STRUGGLES WITH THE SLAVES, THE MAGYARS, AND THE KING OF FRANCE.

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SO deep, so lasting was the impression made on the Germans by the personal greatness and the good fortune of Henry I., that the grantees of his empire and all his people received the wish of the dying monarch as a last will, and regarded his recommendation as a command which it was a holy duty to fulfil. No one could conceal from himself that by him the German nation had been restored to a feeling of its strength; that by him Germany had attained peace within, high respect without the realm. Even the clergy did not venture after his death to oppose the national voice, however much it might be displeased therewith, and however much it grumbled that he neither employed it in his government nor bestowed wealth on it. It did not set itself in opposition to Otto, whom he had recommended, but it had a belief and hope in the background that the young prince would adopt a line of policy opposed to that of his father, and that the priests would succeed in making him their man.

At Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), in the old royal capital of Charles, on Frank soil, five weeks after the decease of the great king, the dukes, the counts and princes, the most illustrious officials of the empire, the soldiers of the five German races, met together for the election of the successor of the Carolingians. They assembled in the great hall which adjoined the Church of Our Lady, that church in whose subterranean vaults the Great Charles reposed. Only the lay nobles were active in the election which took place on the 8th of August. Otto was twenty-four years old when he was elected. They conducted Otto to a throne, where they gave him their hands in solemn recognition of his right, and took the oath of allegiance. They then led him from the hall of the palace to the Church of Our Lady, where the clergy and the

crowding people waited till their newly-elected king appeared. As soon as he entered the door, plainly clad in a short, close-fitting dress of the old Frank fashion, Heribert (or Hildebert), the archbishop of Mainz (Mayence), in all his episcopal vestments, met him, conducted him into the church, and presented him to the people. "See here," he said; "I present to you King Otto, chosen by God, recommended by King Henry, now elected by all the princes. You who approve of his election, hold up your hands." Then the people shouted, "Long life and prosperity to the new king!" and held up their right hands to heaven.

The clergy now proceeded to the anointing and crowning. This, not the election, concerned them. Otto's father had declined to give an ecclesiastical sanction by the sacred unction to the election by the princes and the people; he neither placed a crown on his head with his own hand, nor allowed it to be placed there by the hand of a priest. His kingship had nothing to do with any manner of ceremonial. Henry felt himself to be king without it; he was made king plainly and almost silently, to show the world that a German king needed neither the sacred oil nor the pomp of a coronation to make him king. But Otto loved external splendor and show. He was a man of ceremony, of solemn feasts and forms, which are calculated to work on superstition and on ignorance. He deemed it fitting to surround his elevation to the

throne with as much pageantry and magnificence as possible, with every kind of solemnity. He therefore was pleased when the archbishop of Mainz sought to convince him of the necessity of the ecclesiastical consecration, of the anointing and crowning by an archiepiscopal hand, and held up Charles the Great as his model. He was easily persuaded, and the whole ceremonial, every temporal and spiritual solemnity, was discussed and decided between him, the clergy, and the lay nobility in long negotiations; the election, the anointing, and the coronation would have taken place much sooner had not a long and bitter quarrel arisen among the three most illustrious archbishops of Germany as to which of them had the right to crown and anoint.

The archbishop of Trier (Treves) claimed the honor because his see was the oldest, and had been founded by the Apostle Peter. The archbishop of Cologne relied on the fact that Aix-la-Chapelle, the city in which the coronation was to take place, belonged to his diocese. At last both yielded their claims to the anointing in favor of the archbishop of Mainz, that is, in favor of his superior rank; for the archbishop of Mainz had always hitherto, as primate of Germany, been regarded as the first dignitary of the Church in Germany. The remaining performances at the solemnities of the coronation they divided according to agreement.

On the altar lay the symbols of Byzantine autocracy—the sword with its baldric, the mantle with the bracelets, the pastoral staff as a token of sharing in the ecclesiastical power, the crown and the sceptre. The archbishop of Mainz first gave to King Otto the sword with the words, “Take this sword, to drive away all enemies of Christ, all bad Christians, and all heathens, since to thee, by God’s will, has been given all the power of the empire of the Franks, to maintain peace for all true Christians.” In the next place he clothed the king with the mantle and bracelets. “This mantle that hangs down to earth encourage thee to glow with zeal for the faith, and to endure to the end for the protection of peace!” On bestowing the pastoral staff and the sceptre, he said, “Let these tokens remind thee that thou must rule thy peoples as a father; be merciful to the servants of God, the widows, the orphans, the poor, so wilt thou find grace before God in this life and the next.” The last sentence ran: “Never may thy head want the oil of compassion, and as thou art now crowned, so mayest thou one day be crowned with everlasting rewards.”

Thus speaking, he anointed him with the holy oil. The two other bishops took the crown from the altar, the archbishop of Mainz placed it on the king’s head, and all three conducted the crowned king to the seat of Charles the Great, a throne erected between two marble pillars on several steps. While the king sat here, overlooking all and looked at by all, the *Te Deum* was sung and the High Mass celebrated.

That Byzantine system of priestly supremacy which the man of clear practical understanding, Henry I., had publicly repudiated, was thus brought in by the back door by the princes of the church. The same clerical hands brought again into the king’s palace the Byzantine system of court ceremonials.

At the conclusion of the ecclesiastical solemnities, the king, with the crown on his

head, returned to the royal palace. Here the coronation-feast awaited him. With the spiritual and some temporal grandees he sat down at a richly-prepared marble table, and dined in public before the people. The priests had found out how to avail themselves of the weak side of the young king, his vanity and love of pomp, even in the coronation-feast. Under their influence, the positions which once free and unfree officers of the palace filled, were for the first time filled by the dukes of the great German races. Gisibert, the duke of Lorraine, in whose province Aix-la-Chapelle was situated, had the superintendence of the household; Eberhard, duke of Franconia, arranged the table; Hermann, the duke of Swabia, looked after the wine; Arnulf, duke of Bavaria, had the supervision of the stables and the lodging of the followers of the king and the grandees.

Thus were established the so-called archfunctionaries of the empire. The Lorrainer was the Archchamberlain; the Franconian the Archsteward; the Swabian the Archcupbearer; the Bavarian the Archmarshal. The Saxon discharged no honorary office, for Otto was both duke of Saxony and king of the Germans. From this time dates this royal ceremonial in Germany.

The royal stripling was flattered that not simple servitors as with the Merovingians and Carolingians, but dukes of races, were his chamberlain, his steward, his cupbearer and his marshal. Hitherto the dukes of the races had been in their own eyes, and in the eyes of the people, the equals of the king in prerogatives and honor. King Henry had treated them more like friends and allies than vassals. The high clergy now avenged itself on the proud dukes by suggesting to the young king that if by changing the functions of the court into honorary services of the empire, he were to make the temporal princes of the empire into servants of the court, then would the services thus rendered by the princes of the empire bring clearly before the eyes of all the supremacy of the king over the princes. For this reason he ordered, or let be ordered, what had never taken place before.

The dukes at first took these new archfunctions for elevations of rank; for the king displayed kingly liberality. But the people saw with astonishment, the simple freeman saw with astonishment, this and that prince humbly serving the king's highness. This unexampled ostentation of supremacy on the part of the ruler could not but displease the people; it contrasted too violently with the quiet regal dignity of the ever-memorable Henry the First.

Otto the First was a Romanticist on the throne, a man biassed by false representations which brought the Saxon royal family to destruction, put the German nation on a false track, and caused to Germany many and grievous woes. The romantic view of kingship as something which received its sanction from unction and coronation, this medieval notion, is nothing but a mixing of temporal and spiritual Byzantinisms, heathen absolutism quickened by Christian priestcraft; a delusion of the wearer of the crown based on the superstition of the people, which even in our days has an unfortunate influence on princes and people. This clerical doctrine of a divinely anointed autocracy, which places the throne and its occupant high above all other

men, and makes them dependent not on the will of the people but on heaven, was the net in which the son of the enemy of all priestly rule, of Henry I., was captured by the priests, who, for their own interests, had omitted to give him any intellectual culture.

Although Henry I. gave the clerical lords no share in the government, no power in the empire, yet beyond dispute he wished that his sons should be instructed at all events in what was necessary to be learnt, and the pious Queen Matilda, who was so closely connected with the clergy, must have desired her children to acquire an education and a love for education. But the court clergy let the presumptuous successor of Henry grow up uncultured—he could scarcely read when he became emperor. Not only was he without any sort of learned education, but he had not even respect for learning. He loved to display the rough manners of a man who had grown up in the camp and the chase.

Although Otto was in this respect utterly unlike Charles the Great whom he professed to take for his model, yet he resembled him in his passion for women, and in extreme temperance in other enjoyments; he resembled him in his zeal for the faith, and in making this zeal serve for a cloak of his love of war, his lust of conquest, his longing for power. Yet even as a conqueror he was essentially unlike the Great Charles; he wanted that gift of Charles which could produce new spiritual creations from the conquests of war, a crop of blessings from a blood-stained seed. He was a one-sided conqueror, who had neither the wish nor the gifts necessary to extend education and culture. The creative and order-bringing soul which made Charles so great and noble was entirely wanting to Otto. As a conqueror he was powerful, not great. Like a storm he dashed hither or thither, without definite plan, without any connection of his ideas.

In external appearance Otto was more like the Frank Charles. He had great majesty. His figure was slender, but expressive of strength; his chest deep, his eyes large and a fire in them, but more terrifying than winning; his head covered with fine flaxen hair, all his movements passionate, violent; in this the opposite of Charles and his father Henry. It is remarkable that he is praised for having been “proud of his German descent, and for loving his mother tongue, and having all communications and propositions made to him in German.” As he did not know either Latin or any other tongue but German, what tongue could he have used, if not German?

Otto was so “Romantic” that he whose father had never appeared with a crown upon his head, loved to wear his kingly crown on every public occasion; he regarded it as something holy, consecrated by God, and giving consecration; he prepared himself to wear it by fasting and prayer; he was utterly unlike his father in making more account of his personal susceptibilities than of the empire, more of his race than of the nation. The *mitis sapientia*, the beautiful moderation of his father, the sober eye for the state of affairs and for what lay nearest to be done, were not possessed by Otto. This was seen soon after his coronation.

Nothing was so necessary for the empire as internal peace and the preservation of

the concord established by Henry between the Saxons and the other races. But the Saxons became as haughty as their duke became as soon as he wore the crown. The Saxons behaved as though they were a superior race because they had furnished two kings; they let the Franconians, Swabians and Bavarians feel how highly they were preferred by Otto. Many Saxons possessed fiefs in Franconia and other German countries. If a dispute arose between a Saxon feudatory and a non-Saxon feudal lord, the question was, in Henry's time, decided with strict impartiality; his sense of justice and wise policy put down everything which could awaken the buried jealousy between the races. The safety of the country reposed on the maintenance of harmony between the king and the dukes of races, and between the various races. This sense of justice, this impartiality, was seen to be wanting to Otto even during his coronation festival as well as afterwards. He was partial to his Saxons, and there soon were many of them whose combs wanted cutting. This caused strife that raised up many dangerous foes to the young king, now in his twenty-fourth year.

He himself, by his desire to be king in every respect, drew on himself the displeasure of those who dwelt out of Saxony. Henry had maintained himself and his court by the revenues of his own private estates, and of his duchy of Saxony. Otto, on the contrary, and his court lived at the charges of the country in which he happened to be. His model in his mode of ruling, Charles the Great, as soon as he quitted the field betook himself to his courts and tribunals, without making any requisitions for himself and his small escort on the country he was in; Otto imitated him in one respect, not in the other. To make himself and the royal power important, he began to travel incessantly from one district to another, but not with a few followers but with a great royal household, and at the cost of the place he happened to sojourn in. The Palgraves, Landgraves and Burggraves had their hands always full with preparations for the entertainment of the approaching court of Otto. Moreover, Otto's style of being king, the arbitrary power which he claimed, wounded deeply the feelings of independence in the dukes who believed that the king ought to remember that he was sprung from one of themselves, and had to thank them for his crown. The insolent conduct and neglect of duty displayed by a Saxon towards the duke of Franconia produced the first outburst of civil strife.

The old Eberhard, the Franconian, brother of King Conrad, was beloved by his people for his affability and generosity. His domains extended from the lower Neckar to the Diemel, a tributary of the Weser. Among holders of fiefs under him was the Saxon Bruning, who held some estates in Hesse from him. With open contempt this Saxon refused to pay the duke of Franconia the services he was bound to render. It could be foreseen that if the insubordination of this Saxon was overlooked, other Saxon holders of fiefs would display like disobedience to their Franconian lords. Therefore, Franconian feudal lords interested in the question joined with Duke Eberhard in keeping intact the feudal system. The duke advanced with his troops. Bruning persevered in his refractoriness. Eberhard besieged Elmeri (Helmshausen), the strong castle of Bruning on the Diemel, stormed and burnt it, and put the whole

garrison to the sword. From this time the struggle between Saxon holders of fiefs and Frank lords of fiefs extended with great bitterness till interrupted by the intervention of the king in the year 937. Otto sat in judgment, and condemned the duke of Franconia, "for breach of the peace," to a fine of one hundred pounds of silver. The Frank nobles, however, who had assisted their duke in his campaign against the refractory Bruning, were sentenced by Otto to the disgraceful punishment of carrying dogs, in the sight of all the people, to the royal palace at Magdeburg. The Saxon Bruning, the guilty cause of all, whom the duke, according to law, would have been justified in hanging with the withy round his neck, was allowed to go unpunished with his Saxon aiders and abettors.

Such a form of judicial proceeding, such downright partiality which disdained a mask, could not but deeply wound the hearts of all the Franconians, and make contemptible the young, imprudent, unbridled prince; and that, too, not merely outside of Saxony. Even in Saxony were many who were disturbed by this proceeding of the king, and who publicly declared that gross injustice had been done to the duke and the people of Franconia. The prudent old man who filled the ducal chair of Franconia did not let the righteous indignation which he nursed in his heart break out in action; he waited for a fit time for his revenge. Circumstances were busy in moulding themselves in his favor.

Soon after, on the 14th of July, 937, Duke Arnulf of Bavaria closed his valiant life. Because he, in accordance with the independence granted to him in his territories by King Henry, had employed the Church property, during the long and arduous struggle with the Magyars, for the good of the state, and had enthroned and dethroned bishops, the unappeasable hatred of the clergy would not let him rest even in the grave. His death is represented by them as accompanied with the most terrible circumstances. The monks and priests relate, "He sate, strong and healthy, at table in his palace of Ratisbon, and heard that the holy Ulrich, the bishop of Augsburg, had come to the city. This saint had one day threatened the duke that he would die the death if he did not restore him to his diocese of which he had been deprived. The duke now recalled this to mind, and called, laughing, to one of his servants, 'Hasten, carry the holy man this silver goblet and two cans of wine, and say, "This sends the duke, who, according to thy threats, ought no longer to be among the living; drink and enjoy it."' Enraged at this mockery, the saint replied, 'Now go back, thou wilt find him no longer among the living;' and that same hour the duke died."

After the death of Arnulf, the same authorities report: "Immediately after his interment the devil came to fetch him; the devils were heard hissing and the poor soul howling in the convent where he was interred; the monks were forced, in order to quiet the evil spirits, to dig up the body of the Church-robber, throw it out of the church, and give it up to them."

So said the priests. But Arnulf left behind him four sons—Eberhard, Arnulf, Hermann, and Lewis. Eberhard, the oldest, at once took the government and



appeared as duke of Bavaria by the will of the people, without asking for the investiture of the dignity by the head of the empire, or paying him any homage. His brothers sided with him; according to law, they ought to have asked investiture in their fiefs within a year; but they omitted to do so. Otto, to break their pride, marched in the year 938 into Bavaria to assert the unity of the empire. But before he could accomplish anything decisive, he had to return. He saw himself suddenly, as it were, entrapped by revolts and conspiracies.

Thankmar, Otto's half-brother, was a brave warrior, and in great repute among the Saxons. His ambition believed that the crown ought to have come to him, not to Otto; he thought himself more deserving of it than Otto. He could not forget that the inheritance of his mother had been taken from him by priestly wiles; he envied his brother his crown, and that brother had deeply vexed him by the preferment of a stranger to a position for which Thankmar had sued to King Otto. Count Siegfried, who had been at the same time palgrave and markgrave in Saxony, was dead. This dignity, representing the king in a double capacity, was high and influential, and its possessor had under his orders a considerable military force on account of the border-war with the Slaves east of the Elbe. This was the position for which Thankmar sued. Otto gave it to the North Thuringian count, Gero.

The power and influence attached to this dignity were too great to be placed by one whose reign was only beginning, in the hands of a brother who would gladly have seen the crown on his own head, and to whom the most ambitious and most danger-

ous hopes and wishes were credited. Thankmar regarded the king's refusal as a deadly injury. Hatred against his brother, and hope of obtaining revenge and perhaps the royal crown by the aid of the powerful duke of Franconia, urged him to an alliance with the Franconian, who had been so unjustly treated by Otto, and was thirsting for revenge. It is not impossible that the Franconian Eberhard worked in secret to excite the young Bavarian Eberhard and his brothers against King Otto, and that an understanding had been arrived at for a simultaneous general insurrection.

For while King Otto was busied in Bavaria, Thankmar raised the standard of revolt against him in Saxony, and the Franconian duke fell on Bruning, the king's favorite, whose insolent disregard of his feudal obligations had embroiled the duke with the king, and kindled the torch of discord in Germany. Eberhard's Franconians advanced victoriously, and the Franconian feudal lords in Hesse and Westphalia punished the disobedience and overbearing insolence of their Saxon feudatories. While the struggle raged between Franconians and Saxons, some discontented Saxon grantees had gathered around Thankmar in a part of Saxony faithful to Otto. Among them was the powerful and brave Wiegmann, the son of Billung. His brother Hermann had been made markgrave and commander in the field against the Slaves—a faithful friend, a good soldier and general. Otto had distinguished this son of the house of Billung, and thereby had aroused the envy and discontent of other Saxon grantees, and caused dissension in the house of the Billungs; the brothers took different sides. For this the struggles of the fiery Otto to make himself an absolute monarch in the Byzantine fashion are to blame. It had not escaped the notice of many Saxon grantees that Otto's unjust sentence on the Franconians had its truest, deepest foundation in a desire to humiliate the dukes, to raise his king's throne high above them, and, if possible, to get rid of them; in the next place, in a wish to humiliate the temporal nobility to exalt the spiritual, and to seek in the latter the most distinguished supports of his throne. These considerations led many Saxon nobles and many Saxon freemen to take arms against the king. These latter would gladly have seen the great temporal lords restrained and looked after by the king; but they could not endure that their king should give himself up to the spiritual lords. Thus it came to pass that the brother of Hermann the Billung was among the discontented chiefs of the Saxons, and in alliance with the duke of Franconia.

Thankmar with his Saxon followers surprised, one dark night, the castle of Badelicki, the present Beleke on the Ruhr, not far from Lippstadt in Westphalia. He took captive his half-brother Henry, and sent him in chains to the Franconian Eberhard to be kept as a pledge of their alliance. Thankmar next took the Eresburg, and from it devastated with his forces the open country around.

Thus civil war flamed out in Franconia, Saxony, and Bavaria. The dukes of Lorraine and Swabia kept quiet, but their quietness was a neutrality of a suspicious kind. Moreover, attacks from without now occurred, here from the Slaves, there from the Magyars. Even the Danes in the north and the French in the west became in these days the enemies of Otto.

Otto had brought on himself the French quarrel. The boyish king Lewis IV. then sat on the throne of France. He was that son of Charles the Simple whom his mother, after Charles's fall, had sent over sea to her brother King Athelstan. King Athelstan had gained over to his nephew's side the most powerful of the French grandees, Duke Hugh of France, who possessed the territory between the Loire and the Seine, and with his aid had recovered for Lewis the crown of France. But the youth Lewis was more energetic than the duke of France had anticipated. The latter had hoped to govern France himself, and to make Lewis IV. into a shadow-king—another *Roi fainéant*.

But Lewis determined to rule, and therefore Hugh of France, with a portion of the French grandees, conspired against the king to whom he had sworn fidelity, with a view to overthrow him and seize the vacant throne. For this end he sought and found allies outside of France; and among those who became accomplices of this conspirator was the young king of Germany, the unreflecting Otto. He not merely formed an alliance with him, but, in 937, he gave him his sister Hedwig to wife.

Lewis IV. was the lawful king of France. Lewis was not only the nephew of Athelstan of England, but the nephew of King Otto; for his wife Edith was a sister of King Athelstan and of the mother of Lewis IV. of France.

The young German king, then, was in league with a conspirator and rebel against his lawful king; he was in league against his nephew with a traitor who wished to hurl him from his throne; he was in this league against his nephew without the latter having given the slightest cause for hostility. Furthermore he began to intervene in non-German affairs at a time when he was pressed on every side of his own kingdom by foreign foes and rebellious vassals. Otto's conduct was contrary to principles of policy, contrary to honor, contrary to Christian morality. How came Otto so to act? he whose piety is praised beyond measure by his clerical panegyrists. Through innate pride, through love of imitating Charles the Great, who was in his days the arbitrator and umpire of the world, through the delusive fancy that he might, at this opportunity, bring the French sovereign under his own royal sceptre, even if he could not conquer France or a portion of it for his German empire.

The dominant principle to which Otto was a slave during his youth and manhood was a burning thirst for pre-eminence, not for the pre-eminence of the empire, but for personal pre-eminence, for a splendor which would make him glorious as a ruler; an eager longing to attain in history a place alongside Charles the Great, whose figure was always hovering before his imagination and fascinating him, even if he might not raise himself to a higher splendor of fame and glory. The fancy, the imagination of Otto was so powerful that he deemed things attainable by his ambition which were for him unattainable, because he had not the means to begin with, nor sought to acquire those by which the first King Charles had become the great emperor.

When, by his own fault, King Otto had brought on himself, in addition to the other troubles which environed him, this French entanglement, from which the portion of his kingdom bordering on France soon suffered, he was saved not by strength

of mind, not by strength of arm, not by courage, nor by his calm, steady self-confidence, which four qualities he actually possessed, but by that gift which was allotted to him in greater measure than to all other German kings—the gift which we call luck. It is well known that Julius Cæsar, the great Roman, a political genius of the first rank, named “his luck” as the highest of the gifts, the most distinguished of the talents which the gods had bestowed upon him. This gift, this good fortune, this luck continually delivered King Otto from the most hopeless positions where, according to all appearance, he must succumb. Even Death was his benefactor, by removing his adversaries when things were at the very worst for the king, or those whose decease left a legacy of discord.

When Thankmar had taken by surprise the castle of Belike, Gebhard, the son of Udo, count of Wetterau, was among the conquerors who fell. He was a near relative of Eberhard, duke of Franconia. The consequence of this death was an outbreak of a deep-lying enmity and dissension in the kindred of the Salian family; as it appears, on account of the heritage of the slain man, for all the Salian Franks possessed private estates, which few nobles of the other German races did. We only know that in consequence of the death of Gebhard, the greatest part of the relatives of Eberhard of Franconia, and among them Hermann I., the duke of Swabia, left his army. They not only left him, but suddenly passed over to the king's side.

This duke of Swabia was a Franconian, of Eberhard's house. Count Hermann, the possessor of great estates in Swabia as well as in Franconia, had married Reginlinda, the widow of Duke Burchard of Swabia, and had become duke of Swabia.

Thus, when Otto was in his greatest need, his powerful enemies became friends, the dissension of his opponents gave him relief. The old duke of Franconia had enough to do to hold his own against his now hostile kinsmen. Freed from this foe, the king was able to throw himself on Saxony and attack Thankmar, whom he surprised while he lay without suspicion in Eresburg. When the garrison from their ramparts beheld the king and his army, they despaired of resistance, and opened their gates without an attempt to resist. Deserted by his men, Thankmar took refuge in the Church of St. Peter. This was built on the spot where formerly the old Saxon sanctuary, the Irmensul, had stood. He had every reason to believe that this sacred spot would preserve his life; for all sanctuaries were asylums, places of refuge before whose sanctity the private foe must cease his pursuit, the army of a king must hold its bloody hand.

The thirst for revenge of the royal partisans did not respect the asylum; they are said to have been servants of Henry, the king's brother, whom Thankmar had surprised in the castle of Belike. They storm the church. Thankmar stands near the altar on which he has placed his shield and golden chain. Thiatbold, a Saxon, with words of insult, strikes at the first-born son of King Henry, and gives him the first wound. Then, and not till then, Thankmar, the warrior of great strength, swings aloft his sword, and delivers a blow on his assailant which stretches him bleeding on the ground and in the agonies of death. With sword and shield the gallant Thankmar

strikes right and left on the men who have forced their way into the sanctuary, and drives them back and out. But there is a soldier whose name, transformed into Maincia in the Latin chronicle, cannot be restored to its true German form; he seizes a javelin, goes round the church and hurls the dart from behind on the unarmed Thankmar. The stroke pierces the back and the heart. The wounded man sinks down motionless in instant death.

He fell at the altar; after having cleared the sanctuary with his sword and fastened the doors, he had retired thither, and was foully slain from behind by a murder which was not only a desecration of the sanctuary, but a violation of German honor. A coward who did not venture with his comrades to stand before him in open fight, murdered the suppliant at the altar through the church window. Thankmar died on the 28th July, 938.

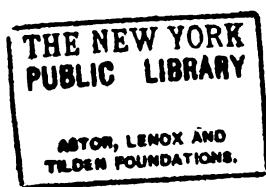
Upon this, the other strong places in Saxony, which had been taken by Thankmar and the duke of Franconia, surrendered to the king. The aged Eberhard himself hastened to effect his reconciliation with Otto. The reconciliation was negotiated by the new archbishop of Mainz, Frederick, and by Henry, the king's brother. The time of Henry's captivity in Franconia had been employed by the crafty duke in furthering his plans of revenge upon Otto. He had treated Henry not as a prisoner, but with princely honors as an honored guest, and had the stripling's heart. Henry had never got out of his head the notion which his party had whispered in his ear before the election of the king, that the crown properly belonged to him because he was the son at whose birth his father already wore a royal crown. This weakness the duke of Franconia availed himself of, while they dwelt together in Franconia; he disclosed to him new prospects of the crown, and assured him of his assistance. It was on this account that Henry interceded with his royal brother, and his efforts, joined to those of the archbishop, brought about the reconciliation with the king.

The king had pronounced and executed severe sentences on some Saxon nobles who had shared in Thankmar's revolt; the duke of Franconia obtained the royal forgiveness by the slight penalty of being banished for the space of a year from his duchy to Hildesheim, on the spurs of the Harz mountains, after which he was to be reinstated as duke in his dukedom of Franconia with all his rights and honors after renewing his homage to the king.

Franconia was thus reduced to obedience; Saxony and Thuringia had been freed without Otto's presence from the invading swarms of Magyars, and now in the same year, 938, although it was late in the autumn, Otto was able to transfer his arms to Bavaria, whence he had withdrawn without success in the spring.

Even yet the Bavarian duke Eberhard, his brother and the temporal grandees of his party, deemed it better to meet the king's anger with arms in their hands than to submit; the bloody end of Erchanger and his great-uncle Berthold lived unforgotten in the memory of Eberhard. It was of the utmost importance to Otto to break the Bavarian opposition to his election, to the German monarchy, to the unity of the empire. Great as were the king's forces, he succeeded only after bloody engage-

DEATH OF THANKMAR.



ments. Although he was victorious, he did not venture to deprive the Bavarian princely house of the ducal dignity; that the Bavarians would not have borne. He contented himself with the fall of Eberhard. He was deposed from his dukedom and banished the land. His deadly enemies, the monkish historians, the only historians of that age, do not tell us what became of him afterward.

The dukedom of Bavaria was given by the king as a fief to Berthold, uncle of the deposed duke, and brother of Arnulf the Bad. He had been count of Vintsch. In Chur-Rhaetia, that is, in the Vintschgau and the Engadine, in the northeastern Alpine lands of the modern Grisons and Tyrol, had lain the original possession of the Swabian Burchards, the Erchangers, and the last Bavarian dukes. Thither Duke Burchard and his brothers Ulrich and Dietland had retired when banished from their Swabian estates after their revolt against Henry I. Thence they again came forth. But the deposed Eberhard never appeared again to public view.

The clergy and the king made full use of their victory as far as was possible. The aged Berthold was indeed made duke of Bavaria, but no longer with the rights and honors which King Henry had by treaty conceded to Duke Arnulf the Bad. The power of the new Bavarian duke was now limited; he lost his royal right of supremacy over the Church and the power to fill the bishops' sees; moreover, in all temporal matters an overlooker was placed by his side. For this purpose Otto selected the duke's nephew Arnulf, the youngest brother of the deposed duke. He was created palgrave in Bavaria, but with a higher position and a wider jurisdiction than previous palgraves had possessed; he was not only the king's representative in the supreme tribunal, but he had confided to him the supervision over all the royal castles, estates and fiefs, and all the revenues of the crown in Bavaria. The king, therefore, made Arnulf not mere palgrave or supreme judge of the palace court, but also the imperial commissioner for Bavaria.

The dukedom of Bavaria thus became dependent. Berthold was no longer a duke by popular election, but by royal nomination. In the last decades, indeed, the ducal dignity had not become legally an "hereditary fief," but had been so regarded in the ducal houses, which sought to make it hereditary and independent. King Otto violently and deliberately tore asunder these views and projects. He not only, as we have said, took from the dukedom and annexed to the crown the supremacy over the Church which had been granted to Arnulf, and the power of installing or deposing bishops—rights, that is to say, which belonged to the king as such—but he made the dukedom of Bavaria a mere office, and claimed to be able by his royal plenary power to make whom he chose duke of Bavaria, without regard to the right of popular election, according to his royal will and pleasure.

Up to this time every German race had elected its duke, and the king had only granted feudal investiture to the duke so elected, after receiving the oath of allegiance; but now Otto I. deprived the German races of the right of electing their dukes. His father Henry had pacified and united Germany on the principle of a federation of states, wherein each race, under its duke elected by it, managed its own internal



affairs, and imposed and executed its own laws; and wherein all the races found their point of union in a general elective king, who was the supreme guardian of the law and the representative to foreign nations of the German empire in peace and war. With Otto's style of being king, with his love for power and splendor—in other words, with autocracy, with absolute royalty—such a German federation of states was incompatible. What Otto wanted was the state as an absolute unit, one and indivisible.

As aids in effecting this, he took into account the dissensions in the families of the tribal dukes, and support by means of the clergy. He elevated and used the youngest brother of the banished duke of Bavaria against the latter and his uncle Berthold as well. He favored the elevation of the spiritual nobles by freeing them from the supremacy of the dukes, by choosing his councillors from their ranks, in the hope that from gratitude they would aid in the completion of his projects; for he determined to begin at once with absolute royalty and the state as a unit; and therefore to do with the other German dukedoms as he had done with Bavaria. In Bavaria he had made the aged Berthold duke solely with a view of transferring to his own house the dukedom of Bavaria after Berthold's speedy death.

The proceedings in Bavaria showed the dukes of the other races what danger threatened them all. They came to an understanding with each other; and the king's brother Henry, who had long had a secret understanding with Eberhard, duke of Franconia, believed the moment had come to take from Otto the German crown and to place it on his own head.

Henry reckoned not merely on the allied dukes, but on another circumstance also, which might have a favorable influence for his wishes and plans. He was much more beloved by the Saxons than his brother, King Otto. The exceeding personal beauty of Henry, in which he far surpassed Otto, and which had a peculiarly strong effect on a simple people, made him the darling of every Saxon man or woman. Add to this his affability and his unassuming behavior, in marked contrast to the pride and domineering arrogance of his brother Otto. The widowed queen, Matilda, had always been the darling of all the Saxons, and it was to Henry, her darling, to whom she had previously wished to have the crown given. It was a weakness of the noble lady that she still loved Henry the most, and openly preferred him to his brothers. The circumstance that Otto was more feared than loved among his own Saxons could but make in Henry's favor at the moment when the state of affairs rendered his victory probable or certain.

Things had in fact come to this pass. Otto's meddling in the internal struggles in France had given the allied German princes, without their seeking, an ally by no means to be despised, the French king Lewis IV. (*d'Outremer*).

In retaliation for Otto's impolitic and dishonorable alliance with the rebellious crown-vassal Count Hugh, King Lewis of France had invaded Alsace. The sins of King Otto were visited on the population of these lovely Rhinelands in August, 938. Lewis besieged the strong town of Breisach, and then retired; after this the princes

secretly in league against King Otto reckoned on the co-operation of the French king in ruining Otto. Especially his brother Henry so reckoned.

The secret league of the dukes with Henry against King Otto had been, long ago, formed before the aged duke of Franconia, Eberhard, had completed his year of exile in Hildesheim and returned to his duchy of Franconia. The third member of the league was Duke Gisibert of Lorraine, the brother-in-law of King Otto and Henry. Gisibert had a pique against Otto, because the latter, in his domineering way, treated him, the husband of his sister Gerberga, with no more respect than he treated any one of the other dukes. In addition to this pique against the king, who was much younger than Gisibert, there existed his old longing to make himself independent of the German crown, the dream of a kingdom of Lorraine. Otto's sister, Gerberga, seems to have dreamed the same dream as her husband, and to have urged him forward. For, one day, Gisibert said to Gerberga, "To-day thou art clasped to the bosom of the Duke; soon shalt thou repose in the arms of the King."

Henry had employed the time since his liberation from the custody of the Franconian duke, at the court of King Otto, in gaining over entirely those powerful Saxon grandees who were already his friends; not merely the discontented vassals of Otto, but many others, especially those who possessed strong castles, or who, as officers of the empire or of the Saxon duchy, commanded in the most important places of Northern Germany.

Relying on these combinations, Henry allowed himself to be persuaded by his Saxon friends to open the war against the king from Lorraine; his friends in Saxony and Thuringia would then follow his example and rise. The duke of Franconia, also, wished to remain quiet till the signal for a general insurrection was given from Lorraine.

Henry hastened to Lorraine to his brother-in-law Gisibert, instead of remaining, as prudence suggested, in the middle of the Saxon people, and conducting personally the attack in this quarter on his brother Otto. Henry and Gisibert rose in revolt at the beginning of the year 939.

King Otto hurried to meet him with his army in order to prevent the junction of his adversaries. The citizens of Dortmund in Westphalia opened their gates to the king. This action of the citizens compelled Hagen, a vassal of Henry on whom he much relied, to surrender to the king the castle he possessed near Dortmund. Hagen offered to undertake a message to Henry to dissuade him from the contest, and to mediate with a view to submission and peace; if he did not succeed, he would place himself again as a prisoner in the king's hands. Otto with a portion of his army was now on the left bank of the Rhine near Birthen, between Xanten and Rheinberg. Hagen came back. His exertions had not had the expected success. The king asked him, "How is it with the Saxons?" Hagen pointed to the distance with his finger. The standards of troops advancing were in sight. "What troops be these, and what want they?" the astonished king demanded—for the greater part of the army had not yet passed the Rhine. "That is my feudal lord, thy brother," replied Hagen; "had

he followed my counsel, he would have come in other guise. Me, however, thou seest here, as I promised to thee."

Restless and excited, the king rode up and down the Rhine bank, while Henry and Gisibert, his brother-in-law, came on in battle array. The monkish account relates that the king suddenly leaped down from his horse, bade his men kneel down, and throwing himself on the ground, prayed with a loud voice, "My Lord and God, who hast created all things and rulest all things, look down on this people, at whose head Thou hast placed me, and deliver us from our enemies, that all the world may see that no son of man can strive against Thy will. For Thou art the Almighty, who livest and reignest for ever and ever. Amen."

Otto took up his position at Birthen, and awaited the enemy. Small as was their number, poor as was their armament—there were scarce a hundred Saxons in full armor—they chose their position well; a piece of water protected them, and frustrated the first assault; a part of them passed round the enemy and fell on his rear. This threw the enemy into confusion; some Saxons perceiving the confusion, cried out in the French language, "Fly! fly! save yourselves!" Thereupon the enemies rushed away in wild flight; many were slain, Henry himself severely wounded. Only his triple mail deadened the force of the blow which had fallen on his arm; yet he received therefrom an injury which was the cause of his early death.

Such is the account given by the monkish chroniclers of the battle of Birthen, to

make the king's victory a miracle, an extraordinary immediate interference of Heaven, a proof that God heard his prayer.

It is credible that King Otto and his forces did pray in their grievous strait. Reiterated experience proves that solemn prayer before battle has given leaders and men new strength, and conduced to the victory of the weaker over the more numerous. And undoubtedly, if Otto and his men prayed in a situation where the king was in the right and the enemy in the wrong, that prayer gave them courage and strength. But the truth concealed in the old reports is plain.

King Otto, who had not only courage, but, in the utmost danger, reflection and a sharp strategic eye, rode up and down the bank of the Rhine seeking for a cover for the troops on that side, and for a favorable and speedy passage for those on the other. The first he found in the piece of water; the second, in boats which, crossing again and again, quickly carried over his troops. It was not, then, a portion of the forces originally with Otto on the left bank which attacked the enemy in the rear, but the first battalions that crossed the river. They fell on both flanks of the foe; for it is not conceivable that a general of skill, and in a hurry like Otto, would have let his army cross the river at only one point. By this supposition the possibility of outflanking the enemy is explained, and the stratagem which deceived the French in the army of Gisibert by the fatal exclamation in French, completed the king's success. Then the French were seized with a panic and fled; the forces of Otto pressed on into the gaps, and the rest of the army of Lorraine was put to flight.

It is known that Napoleon I. represented, for the benefit of the French, his successes in his Italian campaign in such a way that his bulletins did not announce what was effected by his genius, but something quite different, simply impossible—something, therefore, which he had not done. His purpose was to place himself and his mission in a miraculous light. His own confidential letters explain why he did so; he knew the French of his day and the nations of Europe to be seekers of miracles. In the days of Otto I. the people were still more inclined to look for miracles. The clergy availed itself of this craving for miracles, and devised miracles and miraculous stories, legends in which the poetically beautiful and the tasteless were blended. But the people would have it so; the nobility as well as the commons would have it so. All Christian folk saw a miraculous answer to prayer in Otto's victory at Birthen.

Henry, severely wounded, hastened to Saxony and Thuringia; he knew that he could there raise a powerful and well-armed party. But deception and lies, spread by clergy and laity, had outrun him. The clergy and the royal officials spread abroad the lie that Henry was dead, slain in the battle of Birthen. This had an effect on his friends in Saxony, and when, with seven faithful followers, he reached Saxony, he found his party no longer existed. In terror at the news of Henry's death, his followers had submitted to the king, and surrendered all the castles they possessed except two. These two were Scheidingen in the March and Merseburg. Henry threw himself into the last-named fortress, as the king was on his traces. Here Otto besieged him. He lay in leaguer for two months before this strong place; then there came

an armistice for thirty days, which led to an agreement by which Henry evacuated Merseburg and was allowed to quit Saxony with all his followers unmolested.

A frightful insurrection of the Slaves on the Elbe compelled the king to this treaty. The Slaves wished to make use of the civil and fraternal war in the German empire to shake off the hateful German yoke.

Otto's general, the Saxon Hermann, the son of Billung, to whom he had given the March to hold against these Slaves, who dwelt from the mouth of the Eider to the Haff on the Baltic coasts, and against the Obodrites, the Wagrians, and the Danes, who supported the Slaves, had at first been successful; but what he gained by his victories was soon after lost by Eckard, the son of Ludolf, a subordinate general. The latter had, to cast Hermann's victory into the shade by a brilliant deed of arms, attacked, contrary to orders, the Slaves on unfavorable ground; but he himself and the weaker battalions with him were surrounded and slain by the Slaves. Hermann had trouble to keep the German position on his side.

The other general of Otto, Gero, who had the task of guarding the frontier of the realm, and of making conquests, had great success for a long time. Of obscure origin, raised at first to be count in North Thuringia, he was at the beginning of the year 939, after having been for two years commander-in-chief on the Elbe, honored by the king with the full dignity of a markgrave over all Saxon and Thuringian Marches, from the Saale and Middle Elbe as far as the Lower Elbe, the Oder and the Bohemian territory. This honor was granted him not only to ensure unity of command in the war with the Slaves, but also a token of special confidence on the king's part, and as a reward for a cruel and evil deed which he had perpetrated in his zeal for the interests of his king and lord. The story contributes to our knowledge of the true character of King Otto I.

That Gero's own hand pressed hard on the subject Slaves, that attempts on their part to recover their old lost liberty were fruitless or impossible, is certain from what Gero was and what he did, and from his dangerous position towards the Slaves. The complaints of the German monks of this age respecting the Slaves are great; complaints of their mendacity, their cunning, their deceit, their treachery, their faithlessness, their repeated rebellions. But what would the complaints of the oppressed Slaves have been, if we could have heard them on their side? The Slaves, when they revolted, fought as the Germans had fought with the Romans, as the Saxons had fought against the Carlovingians; they fought for national independence and ancestral faith—that is, for something which has been holy to all nations. In the fluctuating, terrible struggle between the German and the Slaves, which was a war between two nationalities and two religions, there was no lack of Christian Germans who were more faithless, more treacherous than the Slaves; and the foremost of such was the Markgrave Gero.

His elevation to such a high degree of rank and power spurred him on to gratify the heart's wish of his king; that is, so to subdue all these Slavonic lands beneath the rule of the Germans and the Christian church that they would patiently bear the

yoke of the former, and become Catholics instead of worshippers of images. All the violent methods of Gero had not succeeded in making the German Christians and this style of Christian priesthood acceptable to the Slaves. They had had opportunity long enough to learn to know them both close at hand. Gero had, by his previous conduct, made himself more hated than feared. The armed force at his disposal did not suffice to enslave these numerous Slavonic tribes. He now chose another way to his goal. He sought and succeeded in becoming a friend with some princes of the Slaves. Like the Poles of to-day, the Northern Slaves had many of the characteristics of the French, especially that of readily listening to, and being easily won by, polite friendly advances.

Under the pretext of celebrating his elevation to the dignity with which the king, his master, had honored him, Gero publicly invited to a banquet a number of Slavonic chieftains, and no less than thirty princes and leaders of the Slaves accepted the invitation.

The banquet was magnificent. Without any suspicions the guests enjoyed the wine and the viands. The hospitality of Gero, their entertainer, waxed warmer; he, the German gentleman, accustomed to his daily draught of wine, pledged in German fashion the Slaves to whom wine was something rare. When the chieftains sank intoxicated to the ground, and when night came down on the revel, the markgrave let loose on the intoxicated heathen the German troopers whom he had previously placed around the festal hall; and he, the host who had invited, thus did to death the guests who had confided themselves to him.

The German soldiers did what their commander ordered, because they had been taught that for the object of extending Christianity among the heathen all means were allowable. Without priestly pressure on the conscience of the Germans who fell on and murdered their guests, without the priestly influences under which Gero stood, such a deed would have been impossible, however rude and rough a soldier this markgrave was. For here was violated and shattered the holiest of all things, what the oldest generations of mankind, what the Middle Ages in the deadliest hatreds of contending Mahometans, Christians, and heathens had ever held inviolable and most holy—the rights of hospitality.

To this cruel crime the Markgrave Gero was led, not merely by zeal for the king's wishes, but by the missionaries whom he had with him, belonging to the Slavonic mission. Markgrave Gero was, as a monkish writer says, "pious and God-fearing," and the chronicler adds, "Long have men told how Gero said grace for the Wends."

This kind of piety and fear of God did not hinder, but urged him to slay basely in his own house the guests he had invited.

But the conscience of the Christian and heathen world of those days was so terribly hurt by this violation of hospitality that even the clergy, without a shadow of proof for their assertion, invented an excuse that these princes of the Wends had hatched a plot to surprise and slay the dreaded markgrave whom they all so feared; Gero,

informed thereof, was more crafty than they had been, had by craft defeated craft, and requited the malice of their hearts.

The hoped-for fruit of this abominable crime did not ripen either for markgrave or clergy ; but the judgment of God followed close on the evil deed.

The murderers had not succeeded in that night of blood in murdering all the invited Slaves. One escaped the butchery and brought the appalling news of the murderous banquet of the Christian markgrave to his home, and from canton to canton horror and rage spread among the Slaves. All the widely ramified Slavonic tribes raised a universal cry for vengeance, and they, who hitherto had squandered their strength in unholy domestic contests, and had been, in their dismembered state, weak to oppose the German conqueror, now ceased from their old sin of disunion. The whole body of the Slavonic tribes assembled in arms to take vengeance on the

Christians—that is, on Gero and his priestly advisers—for the violence done to the sacred rights of hospitality.

With fire and sword, in grim hate, the separate Slavonic tribes overflowed the frontier lands of the German empire; and the poor German peasants had to pay a terrible expiation for the sins of the markgrave and his priests. Gero, too weak in military force to withstand the inroad of the Slaves, an inroad inspired by national and religious bitterness, saw himself suddenly in the extremest distress. These Slaves purposed at first only to execute vengeance; but when victorious they proceeded farther—they determined not only to drive the Germans from their then frontiers, but to beat them out of the old Slavonic territories that had been occupied by the Germans, and the danger of being overrun by the avenging Slaves came near to Saxony.

It was this which compelled King Otto to raise the siege of Merseburg and grant his brother and his friends free passage to Lorraine.

When the Slaves of all the northern tribes carried their arms into the German empire, the Danes also came again.

The danger conjured up by Gero was great enough. King Otto had now at stake not only Saxony, but the crown of Germany. Even those who hitherto had sided with him feared his downfall, now that foes were all around, and the Slaves in a career of victory. At Gero's terror-stricken cry for help, King Otto dispatched a strong detachment, but it was beaten—destroyed by the Slaves. In this critical position King Otto hastened with his army towards the Slavonic frontier. The devastation which the Slaves had carried into the German territory he transferred to the Slavonic cantons. But he could not end here the frightful struggle of national and religious hate. While he is fighting here with alternating fortune, civil war more terrible than before, burst into flames on the Rhine in his rear; he had given Gero room to breathe, but the continuation of the Wendish war he had to leave to his generals. He hastened to the Rhine.

Here, from different sides, the tempest had gathered over Otto more threatening than ever—a league of the Franconian duke Eberhard with the king's brother Henry and the duke of Lorraine; to the latter King Lewis of France had sent an auxiliary army, and very soon the archbishop of Mainz (Mayence) joined the league.

Giselbert of Lorraine had so far, at all events, separated this fair and important duchy from the empire that he had, for himself, acknowledged the supremacy of the crown of France over Lorraine, and in return the French king had sent him aid. By a rapid rush into Lorraine, King Otto, at first, had succeeded in driving Giselbert into a corner; he fell upon him with all his forces before Giselbert had collected the forces of his fellow-leaguers. The duke of Lorraine had to throw himself into the fort of Chevreumont. Otto besieged it, but before he could gain any decided success, he had to return in all haste to Saxony, where the Markgrave Gero was hard pressed by the Slaves, and Hermann the Billung by the Danes. While Otto is in Saxony, King Lewis of France with his auxiliary army enters Lorraine, receives, as feudal superior,



the homage of the Lorraine bishops, and then bursts into Alsace to reconquer for France the lands torn from his father.

At the same time the Franconian duke Eberhard with a powerful force set himself in motion toward the Upper Rhine, took a series of royal castles and garrisoned them with Franconians.

What moved the old duke to this new hostile demonstration is passed over in silence by the chronicler, as it would not redound to Otto's credit. We can, however, read between the lines that King Otto had not been willing to observe the agreement of the summer of 939, negotiated by the Archbishop Frederick of Mainz, towards the restored Franconian duke. This agreement guaranteed to the duke his restoration to all "his honors and rights." A leading principle of Otto's was to divest the ducal dignity of its previous rights; and because he had not punctually given back to the duke all that was due to him, probably the castles which belonged to the Salian family property, the duke had renewed his alliance with Henry, Giselbert and King Lewis, taken and garrisoned the castles of his family withheld from him, and some castles of the empire.

Otto made haste to propitiate this dangerous adversary. He gave the Archbishop Frederick full powers for a reconciliation. While Otto in Saxony is organizing the resistance to the Danes and Slaves, the archbishop effects the reconciliation with the Franconian duke, and pledges himself by an oath that the king will ratify the agreement. Otto hastens back, declares that the archbishop has exceeded his powers and made too great concessions, refuses to acknowledge the covenant, advances to the Upper Rhine and sits down before Breisach, the strong fortress garrisoned by the men of the Franconian duke.

Had Otto's purpose been only to gain time by these negotiations with the Franconian duke? The wary duke seems to have feared so, and therefore demanded in the oath of the bishop a certain guarantee for the ratification of the agreement on the king's part. The archbishop must have been grieved to death by the king's conduct; he, the first dignitary of the Church, the Primate and Archchancellor of the Empire, saw the plenary powers which the king had confided to him, saw the solemn oath by which he had pledged himself, despised recklessly by the king. The scene between Archbishop Frederick and King Otto in the royal camp must have led Otto, who was now in his eight and twentieth year, and who was, his whole life long, in good and evil the slave of passionate ebullitions, to give vent to expressions which made unmistakably clear to the prince of the Church how determined Otto was to be the absolute autocrat, to make the throne free to disregard German princes, first by diminishing their power, next by a full abolition of the dukes of races. Frederick, the great prince of the Church, and deeply injured personally, could now no more doubt that, as soon as the temporal lords were depressed, Otto would make short work with the spiritual princes and lords.

If the bishop was indignant at the personal insult offered by the king, his ecclesiastical duty also urged him to opposition to the king. As Primate of the Church,

it behooved him to guard his own interests and those of other princes of the Church, and to protect them against every longing for royal despotism.

The interference of the king had thus made for him a new enemy who was more dangerous than all his other enemies, especially as the subtle ecclesiastic was a master in dissimulation, and concealed his emotions. He neither showed that he was deeply offended, nor that he had fears for the interests of himself and the Church. But, in profoundest secrecy, he united himself with those who were already in arms against the king, and he engaged within a fixed time to join with the troops of his archdiocese the army which the allies against Otto were collecting at Metz. Nevertheless, he remained in the royal camp. Here he intrigued and made one after another of the

spiritual grandees apostates to their king. The first whom he drew into the secret league against the king was Bishop Rudhard of Strasburg, that important town, and from day to day more and more of the spiritual lords joined the conspiracy, as well as temporal lords in shoals. The conspirators already talked of a new election; Otto's domineering behavior and attempts had—so it seemed—made almost all sick of the despotic king.

Then came to the royal camp the tidings that the united army of the Franconian duke and of the duke of Lorraine had passed the Rhine between Coblentz and Bonn; on the same night Archbishop Frederick of Mainz and the spiritual grandees secretly in league with him left the royal camp with their men, some in such haste that they left their baggage behind; the first thing to be done was to reach in good time the pre-arranged trysting-place at Metz.

They were followed in the next few days not only by temporal lords initiated into the plot, but by many timid souls who otherwise were good royalists, but who, weighing the power of the enemy and the king's situation, feared that King Otto would lose the rubber. Even the king's most faithful followers became despondent; they felt the ground quaking beneath Otto's feet. There were, indeed, among his followers some who had the courage to tell the young king the truth why the clergy and laity forsook him. There were also some who sought to take advantage of the momentary distress of the king. A powerful count on the Bergstrasse demanded from Otto, as an equivalent for his exertions on his behalf, the revenues of the rich convent of Lorsch in the archbishopric of Mainz, near the Bergstrasse. The king refused. "If thou too wilt be a traitor towards me," said he, "carry out thy views, the sooner the better." The count blushed, took the oath of fealty, and remained.

Otto stood fast, although foes around made the earth quake beneath him; he seemed to trust to his fortune, to the luck that had so often delivered him when in sorest need.

Otto remained besieging Breisach. The archbishop of Mainz, the bishop of Strasburg and the other prelates with them had reached Metz, but the duke of Franconia and Giselbert had not come up. These two had made an expedition in the Wetterau and the Lahngau. There dwelt the Salian counts who were loyal to the king—Conrad, surnamed Kurzpold, the count of the Lower Lahngau, and Udo, the count of the Rheingau and Wetterau, both of them cousins of the duke of Franconia, but a burning hate parted him and them since the split in the Salian family. King Otto had sent, to aid them, a detachment of troops under Duke Hermann of Swabia; that is, under a Franconian who, through intermarriage with the widow of the Duke Burchard, had become duke, and who was a cousin of the duke of Franconia, and his deadly foe. Hermann, Conrad and Udo had not ventured with their inferior forces to meet the dukes of Franconia and Lorraine, and therefore the united army of Franconians and Lorrainers had returned, laden with rich booty, from its expedition back to Lorraine. It had already crossed the Rhine again. Only the two dukes Eberhard and Giselbert, with a small escort, were still on the right bank of the Rhine; they were still sitting at table.

Conrad Kurzpold and Udo had ridden in advance of the duke of Swabia in order to reconnoitre where the hostile army was. They had a strong body of men with them. They had only followed the enemy at a distance. In the neighborhood of Andernach they fell in with a priest. He wept and lamented aloud. To their question why he was so sad, he replied, "I come out of the hands of robbers; my horse, my only possession, has been taken from me; they have made me a poor man." They thus learnt from this priest that the united army of the enemies with its booty was already across the Rhine; that only the two dukes were on the other side, in the near neighborhood, still at table, with a very few followers, close to the stream, under a tent. As the priest had said, Kurzpold and Udo found the two princes. They surprised them at their wine playing at draughts. The old lion, Eberhard, defended

himself with terrible blows of his good sword; although he received wound upon wound, he struck down right and left until he fell under the strokes of so many enemies, and his life-blood ebbed away. While the Franconian duke was fighting this gallant fight, Duke Gisibert sought safety through flight. He rushed with a few of his men into a small boat. Overladen, the boat capsized, and buried him and his soldiers in the waves of the rushing Rhine.

Meanwhile King Otto lay inactive before Breisach, far away on the Upper Rhine, between Basel and Strasburg. He passed his time in prayer. One morning he mounted his horse to say his matin prayers in a church lying somewhat remote. A man comes along the road in great haste, and when he drew nigh he gave an "Hurrah!" a sign in Upper Swabian fashion that he brought good news. He announces to the king the death of his two most dangerous enemies, Eberhard and Gisibert. The king bid the messenger be still, dismounts from his horse, and falls on his knees to thank God for this second wonderful deliverance from dire straits. But it was not his own activity—for the king was quite inactive in this critical moment of his life—but his luck which saved him. He humbled himself before God who gave him this luck; but the true humility which sees in men brothers and sisters, which his mother Matilda had and practised, he had not learned; he remained repellently proud, domineering, and high-flown.

The accident which wrought the sudden destruction of the two powerful dukes produced a perfect revolution of the whole situation. Without plans, and full of terror, their followers submitted to the king. The Archbishop Frederick of Mainz and Bishop Rudhard of Strasburg came back with a very light penalty. Breisach surrendered. His brother Henry took refuge with King Lewis in France. Lewis, however, remained a powerful foe, and, in relation to Lorraine, was so much the more dangerous as he had, not long after, married Gerberga, the widow of the Duke Gisibert. This marriage gained him many adherents among the nobles and the people. In Lorraine, therefore, matters were not yet favorable for Otto and the German empire.

Otto now formed the plan to carry his arms on to French territory, to stir up civil war there, and, from the exhaustion of France, to gain advantage for himself. After his luck had freed him from his troubles and distresses of 939, he advanced, in the year 940, with a powerful army into France as far as the Seine. The rebellious Duke Hugh of France and his followers joined King Otto; the duke and all his party did formal homage to the German king as their feudal over-lord. Yet Otto's undertakings in France did not make the progress expected. Quite in his usual style of rushing like a storm hither and thither, without accurate calculation of the means necessary for execution, and without any higher plan, Otto had now flung himself into France. But the means of resistance possessed by King Lewis were much greater than Otto had expected, and the German laws respecting the military levies did not extend to the maintenance of German soldiers on non-German soil longer than they were disposed voluntarily to stay. Add to this, that the Papal court went over

wholly to the side of King Lewis. Pope Stephen IX. threatened all Frank grandees with excommunication who did not, within a certain definite time, submit to their lawful king Lewis.

At that time the threat of excommunication had still power, and King Otto knew that thereon his French allies would seek reconciliation with King Lewis and desert him. He therefore listened to the voice of his sister Gerberga, whose second husband King Lewis was, and who was zealous for restoring peace. In the year 942, Otto met his brother-in-law King Lewis at Vouzy on the river Aisne, a little town in Champagne ten leagues from Sedan, on the frontiers of the two kingdoms. Not only the peace was here concluded, but a deep bond of friendship between their hearts was formed; and Otto reconciled to King Lewis his other brother-in-law Duke Hugh of France, who had to wife Hedwig, another sister of Otto. By this peace the French king renounced every claim on Lorraine; this district again was in the empire, yet in this luckless land the vassals were divided into parties, for a long time embittered against each other.

Otto's brother Henry found in many bishops who had remained loyal to the king, mediators between him and the king. A second reconciliation between them took place in 940, at the time when Otto had penetrated into the heart of France. To gain his brother's heart, Otto had given him the government of all Lorraine. The king, however, did not satisfy hereby the ambition of his younger brother, and Henry showed himself unapt enough for the government of Lorraine. He could not take his proper position over the various parties, and he lost influence with all parties. He became involved in a series of quarrels with the nobles, temporal and spiritual. All felt repelled by him, and the movement against him became so violent and general, that he fled the country. Otto could not approve of his brother's conduct, of his want of prudence and courage. He deprived him of the government of Lorraine, and placed Count Otto, a Lorrainer, at the head of the duchy, but only as governor and as guardian for the only son of his brother-in-law Gisibert. For this son Henry, still a minor, the king wished to keep this duchy as a tribal duchy. Even Henry, the king's brother, had only been "administrator," not "duke" of Lorraine, and this was the reason why his position did not content him, and why he found it difficult to rule Lorraine.

Otto's popularity among the Saxons, among the people as well as the nobles, had not been augmented by his success. The old Saxon love of liberty and equality was not yet reconciled to the domineering ways of the king, much less to those of his servant the Markgrave Gero. The previous history has shown that men rising from obscure origins could make themselves esteemed and loved in this age if they had the requisite moral qualities. These Gero had not; and the man who acted as he had done towards the Slaves, acted also towards the Saxon people and nobility contrary to law and usage. It was his domineering proceedings, in which the inferior was always trying to surpass the superior official, which drew down on Gero the hate of that portion of Saxony where he was markgrave. It was not the *parvenu* Gero who excited the hatred of the Saxons to such a pitch, but his playing the great lord and his over-

stepping his authority without regard to existing laws, in his zeal in executing the commissions given him by his over-lord. Gero had trespassed against his over-lord, the king, by his requisitions on the Saxons for men and money during the Slavonic war, and by the foul disgrace he had brought on the old Saxon honor by the murder of his invited guests, the Slavonic princes. The complainants against Gero appeared before the king. Otto looked only to the good service which Gero had done, and could still do, in the field; even the excess of zeal displayed by the accused was of service, and he did not listen to the accusers, although the most influential men in Saxony were among them. Thus the hate against Gero was transferred to the unpopular king. This happened in the year 940.

Gero's task in this Slavonic war was, under all circumstances, a very difficult one. The contemporary Widukind says, "The Slaves exhibited an endurance which seemed to the Germans impossible. This is the nature of the Slaves: they can, when it must be, bear unspeakable hardships and toil, and be satisfied with the poorest fare; things seem to them light, nay, a pleasure, which our people endure only with sighs and groans." It was with difficulty and by means of the greatest severity that Gero was able to keep up to their full numbers the German troops necessary for his double task of maintaining his power over the Slaves already conquered, and of making at the same time new conquests on Wendish territory. The subdued tributary Slaves were in no hurry with their payments, since by these payments the Germans defrayed the expenses of their equipments for the subjugation of their still-free Slavonic brethren. The refusal to pay tribute since the beginning of the last outbreak had distressed Gero as much as the arms of the Slaves had done; and the discontent in the German army had its foundation as much in the fact that he did not provide for the vassals and their soldiers as by law required, as in the fact that he made excessive requisitions and acted with severity. When the Saxons saw that the king was deaf to their grievances, their bitterness against him increased, the gathering in the Saxon people spread, and the king's brother Henry stirred the fires in the roused dispositions of the Saxons by secret emissaries who went hither and thither between him and the disaffected nobles. Liberal with money and promises, Henry seduced a number of counts and other lords of Saxony, among them Lothaire, Erich, Reinward, Warin, Eserich, Bacco, and Hermann, to a conspiracy against the king's life. During the Easter festivals of 941 Otto was to be murdered, and Henry placed in his brother's stead on the royal throne. Even Frederick, archbishop of Mainz, is said to have been cognizant of the conspiracy. The plan, however, was timely revealed to the king.

The latter at once made counter preparations. He surrounded himself with his most faithful followers; strong, secret guards occupied the palace at Quedlinburg and other points of the city. The conspirators, like the other vassals, came to Quedlinburg. The king did not at once seize his enemies; he kept the feast, and not till the conclusion of the day did he confide the arrest of the conspirators to the strong bodies of troops he held in readiness. Henry, the king's brother, warned in time, escaped by flight. The other conspirators also sought to flee. Then they saw the royal

watch couch their lances towards them. Count Erich would not surrender; he preferred death; he leaped his horse on the points of the lances, and so died. The others were taken prisoners. The day of this occurrence was the 18th of April, 941.

The most of the conspirators were executed; Count Lothaire and a few others were punished by exile. Archbishop Frederick cleared himself by an ordeal; he publicly took the Holy Communion that he was innocent. Like the German heathens, the priests had proofs of innocence, two of which were easy for the clergy, but binding on the popular faith—the ordeal by the Eucharist, and the ordeal of the consecrated morsel (*corsnaed*, or needbread). In this ordeal if the accused could eat without injury the morsel consecrated by the priest, he was held innocent; and so if he publicly asserted his innocence and took the sacrament upon it.

These two means of proving innocence had been introduced by the Christian priesthood since the middle of the ninth century, for their own purposes.

But in spite of the archbishop's standing the test of the Holy Communion, King Otto gave him to one of the loyal ecclesiastical princes, the abbot of Fulda, to be kept at first in close confinement. In the superstition of that age, such treatment of one whom the ordeal had declared innocent made him to be regarded as a victim of unjust persecution, and made the king appear in the eyes of all Christians in the light of a despot who set himself above all law and justice.

The man, however, who, to become king, excited the Saxon nobles to murder his brother and king—who, under the most favorable view, urged the disaffected to the deed, a deed for his interests, by supporting them with money and promises, who was fully cognizant of, and a sharer in the plot—he came off scatheless.

Otto's mother, Queen Matilda, sought and found a way by which her fugitive darling son, the most guilty of all the conspirators, not only received the lightest punishment, but obtained the full pardon and grace of the king. The fugitive found, after such a crime, a welcome from none of his sisters, from none of his brothers-in-law in France. Distress broke him down, repentance visited him and obtained the mastery over him. His mother led him to the king; he threw himself at the feet of his king and brother. "Thou hast not deserved my grace," said Otto to him; "but since thou humblest thyself, I will do thee no harm." He assigned him the beautifully-situated palace at Ingelheim on the Rhine for his residence, the bounds of which he had not to pass, and watchers were set to see that he did not. For any one who knows the locality, it is clear that his residence there was no "close confinement." When King Otto kept his Christmas, in 941, in Frankfort-on-the-Main, the repentant Henry threw himself at the feet of his brother in the cathedral of Frankfort.

The prisoner who had been relegated to Ingelheim was able to come so easily to Frankfort, not because the close confinement was intolerable, but because the maternal love, which had already made his confinement easy, had won the victory over Otto's heart, and was confident of success in reconciling the hostile brothers. All had been prepared by his mother's love and her spiritual advisers—even, we may be sure, the scene in the cathedral.

Only accompanied by one cleric, Henry left Ingelheim by night and came—with good speed considering the then means of communication—early in the morning to Frankfort-on-the-Main. The king went to the morning service in the cathedral; the anthem pealed forth “Peace on earth,” and there, in shirt of hair and with naked feet, Henry knelt before the king and begged for forgiveness. Otto raised the suppliant, forgave and forgot. There was peace between the brothers. Thenceforward Henry did nothing against his royal brother.

Thus did King Otto escape, by good luck, this Saxon conspiracy against his life. His good luck, not the skill of his generals, not the military prowess of his soldiers, had helped him already in his Slavonic war.

Further conquest in the Slavonic countries, or even continued resistance to the destructive inroads of these embittered borderers into the Saxon districts, was not to be thought of as long as no success followed the attempts made to tear asunder the momentary league of the Slavonic tribes and their armed alliance, and to bring back their old weakness by new discords. Markgrave Gero took to intrigue, and no longer to arms. He sought and soon found among the people of the Slaves a traitor who became his tool.

A Slave named Tugumir had long lived among the Saxons. He had been brought as a prisoner to Saxony in the days of Henry I., and had remained in light confinement. He was of the family of the princes of the Hevellers. To him Gero made overtures. He spoke to the ambitious Tugumir of the princely dignity which his ancestors had held for life among their people, and held out to him a prospect of winning for himself this dignity of prince. He undertook to aid him, and gave him,



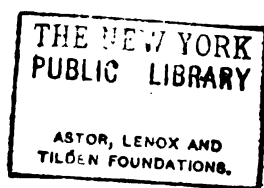
as soon as Tugumir agreed to his proposals, large sums of money and promises of military assistance; on the other side, Tugumir agreed, when he became prince, to place the land and people of his tribe under the supremacy of the Germans, and to surrender to the Germans, as a pledge of his fidelity, the stronghold of the Hevellers, Brennabor or Brandenburg.

Covetous of the place of prince over the Hevellers, Tugumir endeavored to gain it by treason to his people and fatherland, and with the help of the national enemy. He left Saxony and suddenly appeared among his countrymen in Brennabor. He represented himself as a fugitive who had succeeded in escaping from custody; his people received him with joy. In that bloody banquet which Gero prepared for his Slavonic guests, the greatest part of the Slavonic princes had perished, and it was a matter of importance for the Slaves of these districts to obtain competent leaders. Except Tugumir, there existed only one scion of the princely stock of the Hevellers, his nephew; and the Hevellers at once raised Tugumir to be prince of their tribe.

To get rid of his nephew was Tugumir's first care. He entrapped him by a stratagem, slew him and surrendered Brennabor to the Saxons, and the country of the Hevellers submitted to the German king. As a reward for this treason to his house, his people and his country, Tugumir received the title of a duke of the German empire. Under this title he governed his country, standing towards the German king and his own people in the same relation as existed in the case of dukes of German nationality.

The dissolution of the Slavonic federation resulted from the treasonable surrender of Brennabor to the Saxons; in this fortress, the Slaves lost the base of their resistance, and the Germans obtained with this stronghold the key of these Wendish districts—a rare base for gradually subduing the other Slavonic tribes settled between the Elbe and the Oder. From the strong place of Brandenburg (as the name was Germanized), the Markgrave Gero would hurl his forces with lightning-speed, now on one, now on other petty Slavonic tribe between the Elbe and Oder; for when he had established himself in Brandenburg, he was in the centre of these many-named and much-divided Slavonic tribes whom only the moment of a national insurrection had united, and whom the moment of Tugumir's treason sufficed to disunite.

Hence it came, that partly in the same year, partly not long after, the Wendish cantons lying nearest to the Hevellers acknowledged the supremacy of Germany and became tributary. But it was long before those Wendish tribes submitted which dwelt from the mouth of the Eider to the Haff, and which had joined the Hevellers and their neighbors in taking arms against the German supremacy. The inhabitants of the Baltic coasts continued the war steadily. For the latest experience had informed them that in this war there was at stake the preservation or the loss of their old national life and customs, of their old freedom, their old faith. Conquest or submission—this they saw in the case of the Hevellers and their kindred—led immediately to attempts by the Germans to forcibly engraft the Christian faith and German habits





on the subjugated heathen Slaves. The subjugated or submissive Wends saw themselves as good as forced to accept baptism and receive German garrisons who watched them and collected the tribute. At the same time they witnessed the erection of ecclesiastical foundations on their soil, to which they had to do service, and which changed the old estates of the heathen temples into estates of the Church, and collected tithes. They saw how King Otto, like earlier German conquerors, brought, by gift or grant, townships and whole districts of the subdued tribes into the possession of the Germans, who behaved in the full sense of the word as the lords of the country.

As they saw with their own eyes this as a stern reality which their brethren had to endure, and as they had nothing else in prospect, in case of acknowledgment of the German supremacy, for themselves, they continued to fight to the bitter end, with such strength, prudence, courage and tenacity, that the king's chief commander, his cousin Hermann the Billung, the markgrave of this frontier of the empire, had hard work to hold his own. Hermann had not attempted to prosecute the war with such arms as Gero had employed, with treachery and assassination; and therefore he had not had a success as rapid and easy as Gero had; he had, too, the Danes against him, who fought as allies of the Slaves. The Danes had not forgotten the humiliation inflicted on them by King Henry I., and therefore they stood with so much the more numerous forces by the side of the Slaves, to take a more certain revenge for what they themselves had suffered from the Germans.

The fortunes of the war between the Markgrave Hermann and the allied Danes and Baltic Slaves were changeful. The markgrave had suffered defeats, and so, too, had his adversaries. But the Danes pressed forward and made conquests on the territory of the German empire. At last Hermann became a captive of the Danes; he remained long their prisoner of war—long enough to learn the Danish language, which, although a Teutonic language, was even then widely different in its peculiar formations from the Saxon speech.

The Danes had a brave prince, Harald Bluetooth. He attacked the March formed on the Danish and German frontier, broke through it, and devastated the German settlements between the Eider and the frontier-rampart, after the capture of the Markgrave Hermann. For three years, from 947 onwards, he was irresistible; but at length King Otto in person came with a large army, drove the Danes back, attacked them in their own country, and retaliated with fire and sword. The victory of the German king was a decisive one. For Harald sued for peace, renounced his conquests, received Jutland, which was a pure German country, as a fief from the king, and submitted to baptism. Otto re-established the March of Schleswig as founded by Henry I., and the German settlements were restored.

So much is historically true. But legend has laid hold of this campaign against Denmark, and this saga tells how King Otto advanced to the extremity of the peninsula, as far as the sea which bounds Jutland on the north; how he drove Harald and his Danes to their ships, placed himself on the shore of the raging sea and hurled his lance far out into its waves, to mark the sea as the frontier of his empire; and how

the sea received from this the name of Otto's Sound. A still later legend further says that the spot on the shore opposite the peninsula of Thyti, on which King Otto stood, is called Ottensand.

Pretty as may be the story, these names are not derived from King Otto; neither the name of the little church town of Ottensee in Holstein near Altona; nor of Odensee, the town in the island of Fünen; nor Ottenstein in Brunswick; nor of the Odenwald, are derived from him. They are all derived from the old god, Odin or Woden.

King Otto durst not ask too much from Harald, because the liberation of his faithful cousin, Herman the Billung, had to be one of the conditions of peace. Hermann returned to his markgraviate of Schleswig.

Thus ended the long war in this part of the Slavonic country. Their lot, after Otto had made his peace with the Danes, was a heavy one. Deserted by the Danes, and no longer united among themselves, the Slaves of this district, in spite of their valor, had, one tribe after another, to submit and become subject. All these conquered Wends had, as tributary subjects, to deliver to the royal chamberlain, according to the detailed enumeration given by the contemporary writer, Widukind, corn, flax, beer, swine, geese and hens, and, a few years after, to pay tithes of all that they possessed to the ecclesiastical foundations in their country; moreover, they had to discharge services of all kinds for the king and his officers, and for the upper clergy.

The same year saw the end of the fourteen-years war with the Slaves in Bohemia. This war, which commenced with the expulsion of the German clergy, was not only a war of religion, but also a war of the people against the aristocracy—against the nobles friendly disposed or devoted to the German monarchy. When the latter saw themselves hard bested by the national party, one of them invoked the support of the German king, and Otto sent a Thuringian detachment and his troop of Merseburgers to Bohemia. These forces, however, were too weak and were defeated. Not till after fourteen years of repeated conflict was the relation of Bohemia to the German empire restored to what it was under King Henry I. and the Duke Wenceslaw. Boleslaw, the murderer of his brother Wenceslaw, was acknowledged by Otto as duke of the Tschechs on payment of tribute and taking the oath of vassaldom.

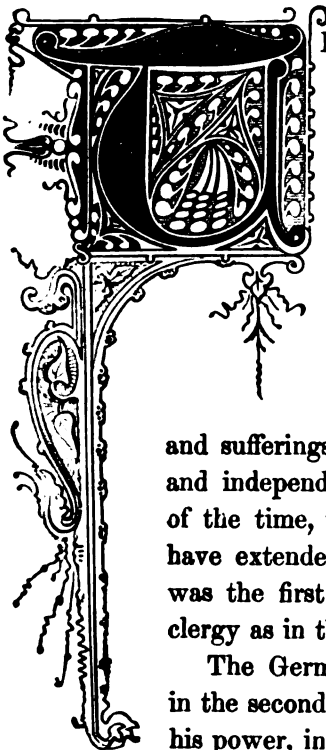
On this side also there was at last peace between the Slaves and the Germans.

## CHAPTER XV.

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FOUNDATION OF BISHOPRICS AMONG THE SLAVES—OTTO'S INTERNAL POLICY—UNION OF THE DUKEDOM OF FRANCONIA TO THE CROWN—OTTO'S ATTEMPT TO STRENGTHEN THE ROYAL POWER BY ANNEXING THE GERMAN DUKEDOMS TO HIS HOUSE—OTTO'S CHARACTER—HIS CONDUCT TO HIS WIFE EDITH AND HIS MOTHER MATILDA—OTTO ARBITRATOR IN FRANCE—INTERVENTION IN ITALY—QUEEN ADELAIDE—OTTO'S EXPEDITION TO ITALY, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES—REVOLT OF LIUDOLF AND CONRAD—CONVENTION OF MAINZ—SYMPATHY OF SWABIA AND BAVARIA FOR LIUDOLF AND CONRAD AFTER THE DIET AT FRITZLAR—OTTO AND THE GREAT INVASIONS OF THE MAGYARS—NEW REBELLIONS OF THE SLAVES ON THE ELBE—THE EMPIRE FREED FROM THE MAGYARS BY OTTO'S VICTORY OF THE LECHFIELD.

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HE wars of King Otto's early years, like the previous wars against the Slaves, belong to the darkest shadows of German history. Over the cruelty displayed in them by the Germans, Christianity must drop her sacred mantle. The blessings which have everywhere arisen from Christianity for social and political reformation, for nobler morals, and for the material well-being of those to whom the Christian religion came in kindly fashion, or on whom it was forcibly imposed, flourished in later days in these Wendish districts and tribes, and have reimbursed the succeeding generations for the blood and sufferings of their fathers fighting for the old faith, for nationality and independence. But however wide the mantle which the historians of the time, when all historical writing was in the hands of the clergy, have extended over these contests, it does not hide the ambition which was the first and main spring, and which was equally strong in the clergy as in the laity.

The German king desired to conquer in the first place for himself, in the second place for the Church; the Pope of Rome desired to extend his power, in the first place for the financial interests of his court, in the

second place for Christianity. The bishops and archbishops had their eyes fixed first on their material interests, secondly only on the affairs of religion. Mission work even in our days is connected with material interests, and in the mission work of the Middle Ages this connection is conspicuous. It was said of Otto's foundations that he established bishoprics not merely as castles of the Church, but of tyranny. The justice of this remark is shown by the actions of the Slaves at the close of this century in opposition to the German nobles, clerical and lay.

In 946, Otto founded the bishoprics of Altenburg (Oldenburg) and Havelberg. The former embraced the countries of the Abodrites and Wagrians in Mecklenburg; the latter, in which Gero's hand of iron extended religion and tyranny, embraced the land between the Elbe and the Oder, north of the Havel. Here the struggle had been especially obstinate, because here was the most celebrated sanctuary of the gods of the Wends. In the year 949, Otto founded the bishopric of Brandenburg, over the territory of the Havel and Spree as far as the Oder. At the same time he founded in the Danish March the three bishoprics of Schleswig, Ripen, and Aarhaus. All these sees he made suffragan to the archbishopric of Hamburg.

The most important of Otto's foundations was the archbishopric of Magdeburg. Suffragan to it were the sees of Meissen, Zeitz, and Merseburg. They became so in the last years of his reign, the archbishop of Mainz and the bishop of Halberstadt opposing the scheme for many years. The archbishop of Mainz claimed the mission in the east of the empire as a prerogative of his see, which neither Archbishop Frederick nor his successor William would surrender. This latter had been raised to the see of Mainz in 954. He was the king's natural son by a Slavonic lady whom he had made prisoner of war.

Archbishop William and Bishop Bernhard of Halberstadt both died in the same year; and then Otto was able to carry out his plan by taking security from their successors before their nomination, that they would offer no opposition to the founding of the archbishopric of Magdeburg and its dependent bishoprics. The bishoprics of Havelberg and Brandenburg, before the close of the year 968, were made subject to the archiepiscopal see of Magdeburg, which he endowed with great landed estates, and the Pope made the archbishop of Magdeburg the equal in all respects of the three ancient German archbishoprics of Mainz, Treves, and Cologne.

Immediately after the old Franconian duke Eberhard had fallen, Otto made a beginning of his policy regarding the German dukedoms. He did not appoint a duke of Franconia; he made himself the duke of Franconia; he united the dukedom to the crown—that is, he abolished it. The pride of race of the Franconian nobles was appeased by a crafty employment of appeals to their private interests. He divided the private estates of his dead opponent among the numerous relations of the latter; his great fiefs were partly confiscated to the royal treasury, partly granted piecemeal to a crowd of nobles not akin to Eberhard, a considerable portion going to the duke of Bavaria, Berthold, and no little to the clergy. They therefore allowed the king to do as he wished, however much his action was violent and contrary to custom; he

had bought their silent assent, and paid well for it. Here again luck aided the king by a series of speedy deaths among those he had thus purchased.

Duke Hermann I. of Swabia was one of the nearest kindred of Eberhard. Otto divided the private possessions of Eberhard, the numerous and noble estates on the Main and the Neckar, as property descending by hereditary right, between Hermann and the other cousins, among whom were the brother counts, Kurzpold of the Lower Lahngau and Udo of Wetterau. This hereditary property the king did not touch. Of the wide-stretching fiefs of Eberhard, the king, after making a selection for the royal domain, gave the countships on the Nahe, near Speyer and near Worms, to his most loyal and capable follower, who was highly respected by the Franconians for his personal worth, although hitherto he had no great fiefs, but only extensive private property. This was the brave and wise Count Conrad "the Red," as the people called him.

This Conrad "the Red" was of the old family of the Salians, but not so nearly akin to Duke Eberhard as to be able to make any claim to his heritable property. The king, therefore, gave him grants of the fiefs left by Eberhard, in order to gain a stout supporter in a man so highly gifted and so influential among his countrymen. Conrad the Red is doubly important—by what he became, and by what Otto gave him.

He is the ancestor of the Salian emperors, and the property given by King Otto was the foundation on which his descendants raised themselves to the German throne.

The Nahe, that tributary of the Rhine which forms for some distance the northern border of the Bavarian palatinate, and after a course of thirty leagues joins the stream of the Rhine at Bingen, flows through districts highly blessed by nature, and the country around Worms and Speyer belongs to the richest and most fruitful districts of Germany. These counties, the fairest and richest in the palatinate of the Rhine, rich in fertile plains and meads, in corn, fruit and wine, in cities and villages and castles, were given to Conrad in addition to what he already had. Conrad's own property and previous fiefs seem to have been situated in this neighborhood. From henceforth, by this endowment from King Otto, Conrad the Red was the mightiest lord in all the palatinate of the Rhine. In the counties of Worms, of Speyer, of Nahe, of the Upper Rhine, and of Lebden, that is, from the Rhine to Elsenz, from Wiesloch to Weinheim, Conrad was lord; in all these counties he was count, and he had further fiefs in the Bliesgau, a district in Westrich. His power and government thus extended far into the Rhinelands, over the greatest part of the later palatinate.

It seems to follow from all this, that Count Conrad the Red, in an age when personal worth had such a value, and such a future, possessed, in the eyes of King Otto, the best claim among the Franconians on the ducal dignity, and that the king gave him these grants to make him contented, and be able to appropriate to himself the dukedom of Franconia without the opposition of this most influential noble. The usual dwelling of Count Conrad the Red was henceforth in Worms.



Otto gave him so much that he possessed, by means of the counties held in fief, as much power as a duke had at other times. If he did not make him duke of Franconia, he yet made him, without the name of prince, the lord over so much land and people that the whole formed one of the most splendid principalities in Germany. He soon gave him more—a dukedom and his only daughter.

From the fiefs left by Eberhard, Otto gave to Berthold, the old duke of Bavaria, in addition to the March on the Böhmerwald and the later Upper Palatinate, which already belonged to his territory, the adjacent lands as far as the Main and the Spessart.

Death continued to play into the king's hand. Berthold, duke of Bavaria, died on the 23d of December, 945. He left a son under age. Thus the dukedom of Bavaria was vacant. Besides this young son of Berthold, there were the sons of Duke Arnulf the nephews of Berthold. In the eyes of the Bavarian people, and according to custom, these three offshoots of the ducal house had the nearest claims to the ducal dignity. But the king granted the vacant dukedom to none of the three—not to one of the stately sons of Arnulf, but to the husband of their sister Judith (Jutta). This husband was—the king's brother, Henry. This often-mentioned Henry, the rebel, had to wife a daughter of the Duke Arnulf of Bavaria, a celebrated "beauty of the time, and of wondrous prudence," says old Widukind.

This action of the king displeased many of the Bavarians. Their injured pride of race was not appeased by a female scion of the old stock sharing the ducal throne. The sons of the dukes henceforth nourished in secret a bitter enmity against the king, and, in spite of the affinity, against Henry. The seed here planted by the king soon bore bitter fruit.

In the year before, the young Henry, son of Giselbert of Lorraine, King Otto's nephew, and his guardian, Count Otto, had died. Lorraine, too, was a vacant dukedom. The king gave it to the brave Franconian, Count Conrad the Red. In gratitude, it may be, for this, the new duke, in 946, gave as a free gift to the church of Speyer his rights as lord of the city of Speyer—the salt-tax, the rents, the wine-tax, the other royalties, and no inconsiderable landed property. Conrad the Red knew how to keep and manage the fickle, restless, rebellious Lorrainers, so that they ceased to trouble; they were contented with this duke of theirs, perhaps because he was not only energetic but generous to them, the nobles of Lorraine. In his joy at Conrad's success, the king gave him, as his fairest reward, and as a new bond of loyalty, his daughter Liutgarde in the year 948. Thus the Franconian Conrad the Red became, first, duke of Lorraine, then son-in-law of the king of the Germans.

At the same time as the marriage of Liutgarde, the only daughter of Edith, Otto married her only son Liudolf to Ida, daughter of Hermann, duke of Swabia. This too wealthy Franconian died the next year. He left no son; Ida was her father's only heiress. Liudolf was sixteen years old when he married Ida. He was not seventeen when the immense possessions of the father-in-law in Swabia and Franconia fell in, and King Otto thereupon granted to his son the vacant dukedom of Swabia. From this, too, the king reaped bitterness.

As Hermann's cousins, Kurzpold and Udo, had died before him, the once flourishing, powerful Franconian house, which had given a king to Germany, was extinct; Count Conrad the Red was connected with it only by the female side, and in him now the Salian stock continued.

Thus King Otto himself was duke of Saxony and duke of Franconia; his brother Henry was duke of Bavaria; his son, duke of Swabia; his son-in-law, duke of Lorraine. The old German tribal dukedoms were thus in his own hands, or in possession of members of his family; King Otto, in his joy and pride, believed that he had established the "unlimited monarchy," which in modern days is called the "absolutism of monarchical power," as a sure thing for himself and his house. Luck had again worked extraordinarily for him.

But neither good luck nor bad luck, neither the favors nor the visitations of God had hitherto been able to purify morally King Otto, to ennoble his heart and mind. His clerical flatterers, who have designedly concealed or passed over in silence anything that told against him, have not been able to omit from their portraiture of his soul and life deep shadows and dark blots; undoubtedly because they were too deeply engraven in the recollections of the people.

Shortly before the last piece of good fortune, Otto's wife Editha had been suddenly torn from him by death, in the year 946, and was buried in the cloister of St. Maurice in Magdeburg. Magdeburg and some fair lands in the duchy of Saxony had been given to her, in old German fashion, on the morrow of her wedding as a "Morgengabe." During the eighteen years she had been at his side, she was Otto's good angel. Not only according to the legends of the people and the Church, but judged by historical facts, she was as lovely in soul as in person. The Church lauded her for her piety; but more valuable than such praise is the fact that long after her decease she survived in the grateful memory and in the hearts of the people.

Between England and Germany there was even then a certain degree of national difference; the Germans regarded the English queen not as a foreigner but as a stranger, not as an alien but as one who came from the Germany beyond the empire—as "outlandish," in the true sense of the word. Edith so grew into the hearts of the Saxon and German peoples that in life and after death she was loved and honored by the people, and sang of in their ballads. In saga she still lives in all her peculiar loveliness of soul; in history she shines as the good spirit which soothed King Otto, the man of passionate excitement. She lives as the "affectionate mother of the people," not as one rejoicing in the exclusive haughtiness, the pride and pomp of a queen. The good King Henry had taken care of this when he brought the English princess over the Channel as a bride for Otto. For there, in the Anglo-Saxon land, customs and views had not yet been Romanized; there the old popular life and respect for law existed even in the king's court.

Much as Otto loved her, he sometimes was harsh; as when he reproached her for being extravagant in her gifts to the poor, and forbade her to give alms. The legend, as colored by clerical imaginations, adds: "To prove whether the queen did according

to his expressed wish, the king, on a feast-day, clothed himself like a beggar and went to the church-door when the queen in festal array was drawing near. He urgently begged for an alms. She replied she had nothing but her clothes. The beggar holds her back by her mantle with the words, 'A rag of this would help the poor.' Overcome by pity, she gives him a sleeve of the costly robe of ceremony. At the royal banquet she appears in another mantle. The king demands why this change of dress? The queen gives an evasive answer. To put her to shame, he orders the mantle she had worn in the morning to be brought, but, wonderful to say, both the sleeves are there! The king confessed that heaven had approved her he sought to prove."

According to another tradition, we are told: Once on a time, deep in the night, a hind came to the queen's chamber in Magdeburg. She asked admission by scratching at the door. When it was opened, she went to the queen's bed, and lay down moaning and sighing as if she wished to tell of a deep woe and get assistance; and then departed. By Edith's order, a servant followed the hind, and found her beyond the Elbe, standing by a fawn which had been ensnared. The servant set the young thing free, and the hind fled with it at once into the thickets. Edith rejoiced in having helped a poor mother. This legend is still living, and has been often told by poets in their songs, and represented by painters on their canvas.

This noble lady often made peace between King Otto and his mother Matilda, King Henry's widow, even in a case where reconciliation seemed impossible.

Queen Matilda had to pay grievously for the feminine weakness with which she loved more than the other children, her second son, the handsome Henry, and openly showed her preference. King Otto had, at her entreaty, founded a convent at Quedlinburg on ground given to her in dower by his father. Under the care of the royal widow, this foundation became a spot from whence instruction, morals and piety spread through Saxony. Henry had caused her much sorrow, much care and dread; and scarcely were the hostile brothers, Otto and Henry, reconciled with each other, than she had to experience the agony of seeing these two sons acting in concert hostilely against the mother who had always accompanied the king and his undertakings with her prayers, who had trembled for Henry, and sued to the king till he not only forgave his brother, but welcomed him with love.

Of late years Henry had given to bad men an influence over him, and lent them an ear; now Henry had won great influence over the king, and the king gave him an ear. His future plans and his current undertakings demanded more gold than his revenues could furnish. Otto saw with grudging eye how his mother Matilda exhibited towards the poor, the churches, and the convents a magnificent liberality at the expense of her family property and her dower. Even if she did commit excess, yet no one had the right to judge her; she gave what was hers to give, and to dispose of at pleasure. It was perhaps Henry's bad heart that, with a view to creep into Otto's favor, and knowing his secret thoughts, suggested that it would be better if their mother, who needed almost nothing for herself, were to give her superfluous revenue to the king for his political undertakings rather than to convents, and churches, and people unworthy of her gifts. The two sons, therefore, upbraided their mother with wasting her rich dower and squandering it on the undeserving. The king went so far as to watch her servants, and forcibly take from them the gifts which the pious queen was devoting to the poor.

If at any court there is a want of money, there is never a want of men to say one must get money where one can find it, and who suggest means and places by which, and in which, it can be found. Such men represented to the two sons of the widowed queen that the gifts of their mother to ecclesiastical and charitable institutions were far too great to be derived from her family property or dower; she must, during King Henry's reign, have accumulated wealth, and deprived her sons of great treasures left by their father. The king and his brother Henry demanded from her imperiously the surrender of moneys which she never possessed. The widow, with just pride, repelled this absurd and impudent calumny and demand.

But Otto and Henry were not yet satisfied. To get money from his mother, Otto, encouraged by Henry, sank to a depth of depravity which, on the part of a son toward a mother, was the lowest imaginable. They told her she had no need of the income of her dower; life in the cloister would do for her; she must give up her dower to the king and take the veil. To escape the daily annoyance, the moral and other pressure on the king's part, Matilda left her dower-lands at Quedlinburg and withdrew to her ancestral hereditary estates in West Saxony, to Engern; she steadily

refused to enter a convent. King Otto, however, confiscated the income of her dower.

Matilda thus paid for her preference for Henry, and the evil deeds of Otto towards his mother were soon enough repaid by what his children did towards him. Edith never ceased in her attempts to bring Otto to a confession of his undutifulness. But her royal lord and husband gave no heed to her warnings. He did not listen to her, his good spirit, till misfortune in many a form was rushing on him from all sides. He then allowed Edith to persuade him to restore his mother to her honors. In his need and distress, Otto's conscience awoke and burst through, even if only for a short time, the illusions of ambition and pride; in the pangs of conscience, crushed by God's judgments, he hastened to propitiate the deeply-injured mother and his offended God.

He and Edith took horse with a large following to meet his mother on her return. Otto, the creature of impulse, leaped from his horse and fell on his knees before his mother. Edith did the like. The king said, "O fount of all my honors, comfort in all my troubles, let me find reconciliation. I have sufficiently atoned for my trespasses against thee." Matilda raised up Edith and her son, embraced and kissed her and Otto, and said, "Grieve not, my son; had not my sins caused it, nothing unpleasant would have come to me from thee."

Otto from henceforth committed no more offences against his mother. He restored to her her dower, and put no check on her benevolence. He gave from his own property contributions to her foundations.

Otto, as previously related, had scarcely, by mere good luck, escaped from imminent peril, when a new stroke of luck arose from the renewed troubles in France.

His brothers-in-law, whom he had reconciled in 942—King Lewis and Duke Hugh of France—had come to blows in a couple of years, and King Lewis had the misfortune, in 945, to fall into the duke's hands. Gerberga, Otto's sister and the wife, in her second coverture, of King Lewis, united her prayers to his appeals, and Otto, once the ally of the revolted duke of France, had learned by years, and by experience of his own great vassals, that policy required him to take the part of the lawful king against the revolted vassal. Otto, in 946, advanced with an army into France. He compelled his brother-in-law Hugh to set free his imprisoned brother-in-law Lewis, in return for the cession of Laon; but what he had arranged was soon thrown into confusion after his departure by new proceedings of Hugh of France. King Lewis again invoked the help of the German king. But Otto, this time, made no campaign in France. He negotiated an armistice between the contending brothers-in-law, and, with the assistance of the Church, sought to settle by arbitration the long feud. He summoned for the 7th of July, 948, a synod of the "bishops of Germany" at Ingelheim, and allowed it to open with the Papal legate as the president. The French bishops, too, were summoned; but only two appeared—the bishop of Laon and the archbishop of Rheims.

King Lewis of France came, and declared that he submitted himself to the decision of the German king and the synod. But Duke Hugh did not appear. He was summoned to obey his lawful king under penalty of being placed under the ban. Otto confided to his son-in-law, Duke Conrad of Lorraine, the task of enforcing obedience. Hugh had wished to be independent, and to give his wife the same princely position as her sister, the queen of France. Duke Conrad, whose wife was the niece of the wife of Hugh of France, had to struggle with him for two years till he submitted, restored the strong town of Laon to the king, and took again the oath of feudal allegiance in the year 950.

Yet the king of France had cause for complaint a few months later, and accused Hugh before the tribunal of the German king, whom he asked to be judge in the matter. Otto cited him to Aix-la-Chapelle. He obeyed the citation, but sent two lions as a present to Otto. Otto received his brother-in-law kindly in 951; but his decision was strong against Hugh. "I will," he said, "that Lewis be king in his land; and I order, therefore, that no one, without his permission, be in possession of a fortified castle."

During the course of the first half of the tenth century, Otto had attained such a position that not only France acknowledged him as an arbitrator, but the German empire and its king were the centre of the political system of Europe. Otto's fame penetrated to the Greek court of Constantinople. Greek ambassadors were with the king at Easter in his palace at Aix-la-Chapelle, and they saw there ambassadors from Italy, Britain, and elsewhere.

As Charles the Great was Otto's model for splendor and dominion, Otto could not be satisfied with the high point he had reached; he hoped and desired that fortune, which had so long befriended him, would give him the supremacy over Italy and the

Roman imperial crown. His fortune once more smiled on his wishes. Fortune brought him an invitation to Italy—the appeal of a widowed queen who was celebrated in every lay as the fairest lady of Europe. From a castle in Italy, where she was held prisoner, she offered to King Otto, as a reward for her liberation, her hand and the crown of Italy.

Italy was then in a very sad condition. The Saracens were in possession of Sicily and the adjacent islands—in possession of Sardinia and Corsica. From Sicily they had pushed forward into the peninsula, and had got a firm footing therein. They swept through the country. The Greek emperors still kept their power in Naples and Calabria, but with continual struggles with the Lombard princes of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua. The Greeks and these Lombard princes vied with each other in making friends and allies of the Saracens; each sought to destroy the other by the help of the Mahometans. The Saracens from Sardinia and Corsica made repeated forays into Middle and Upper Italy, and these districts were at the same time ravaged, plundered, laid waste from time to time by the Magyars. The Italians suffered more terribly still from internal foes, from party strife and warfare. For half a century the feuds of the Italian nobility had raged in blood, amid the strife of parties for power in the duchies and in Rome; and for the same period three beautiful, bold, and artful Roman women had filled the Papal chair with their lovers, their sons, their grandsons. Such were affairs from the year 904 to the middle of the century. In Rome the struggle turned on the Papal chair; in Upper Italy, on the winning and holding of the crown of the “kingdom of Italy”—that is, about the sovereignty in Lombardy.

One of the rival kings, Lothaire, of the house of Burgundy, died suddenly in the year 950, on the 22d of November—more than probably through poison administered by Berengar, the marquis of Ivrea—and in the following month, on the 15th of December, 950, Berengar assumed the vacant crown. Berengar associated his son Adalbert with him on the throne. Lothaire had left at his death a beautiful and talented widow nineteen years old, Adelaide (Adelheid), the daughter of King Rudolf II. of Burgundy; the two Burgundian kingdoms had formed, since the year 934, only one kingdom of Burgundy, extending over Switzerland, Savoy, and the southeastern part of France. Adelaide had a strong Burgundian party in Italy, which grew stronger when Berengar, soon after his coronation, let fall the mask of affability and gentleness which he had previously assumed, and turned out to be a rapacious, hard, and cruel tyrant. A contemporary says of this despotic and unscrupulous prince: “He was like the ostrich, whose nature is not displayed in his feathers; when his time comes, he flaps his wings violently and mocks man and horse; no one can tame the rage of the unbridled creature.”

So much the more conspicuous to the nobility and people was the loveliness, uniting beauty and understanding, displayed by the queen-widow Adelaide. And so much the more anxious were Berengar and his wife Willa, who ruled him, and was as malicious as immoral, to induce Adelaide to give her hand to their son Adalbert, in

order thereby to win the Burgundian party in the peninsula. This proposal Adelaide steadily rejected.

The evil Willa and Berengar now loaded her with injuries. As she saw herself in their power, she took the resolution of taking refuge in Germany. But Berengar anticipated her plan; he robbed her of her treasure and seized her person. She was immured in a strong tower at Como, and exposed to the most horrible treatment. To constrain her to marry Adalbert, Willa and Berengar pulled her about by the hair, and bruised her beauteous limbs with blows and kicks. She stood firm. Adalbert must have been the more repugnant to her that her suspicions saw in him one of the accomplices in the murder of her young husband. Berengar now confiscated all her property to the crown, took her from Como to the castle of Garda on the Lago de Garda, and delivered her to a count for safe-keeping and a continuance of ill-treatment. In her dungeon in this castle there were left to her only one faithful maid and a confessor, Brother Martin.

The numerous party which was discontented with Berengar counted many bishops in its ranks. They sent the first invitation to King Otto. This party had indeed no right to bestow the crown of Italy, nor had the royal widow Adelaide any such right. But as the crown had, for half a century, passed from hand to hand without any regard to legal right, like a piece of booty, their party took the liberty of offering the crown as well as the hand of the widow of the late king.

But before German aid had arrived over the Alps, Brother Martin had freed Adelaide from her captivity. An emissary of Bishop Adelhard of Reggio had found access to her prison, and plans and instruments for flight. Brother Martin and the faithful maid dug, by their means, a passage underground leading from the tower into the open air. In the night of the 20th of August, 951, the queen, with her servant and confessor, escaped from her jail. The fugitives hastened during the night as far as the queen's limbs could carry her, and then concealed themselves in a cavern. For some time they followed in darkness the beaten track, and at daybreak hid themselves in grottoes, forests, or corn-fields. The jailer of the queen and his men pursued the fugitives, and once a thick corn-field wherein the queen was concealed was tried by the spears of the horsemen, and the tall stalks bent down; but the queen they did not, or would not find. It is incredible that when Adelaide's fate found the sympathy of all Italy and Southern Germany, the knights and horsemen of the castle of Garda, who had seen with their own eyes her wondrous beauty, remained insensible and needlessly cruel towards her.

Perhaps the adventures and perils of the fugitives have been somewhat adorned in the interests of the Church, in order to make the queen's escape appear miraculous; yet these adventures may have been true, as they perfectly resemble those of other fugitives, the truth of which is assured.

The legendary part begins with telling: "The fugitives came to a broad water, and the priest hurried on before them to tell to the bishop of Reggio the success of their flight. Days and nights the queen and her maid lived in sad unrest, at last even



worn and exhausted by hunger. Then there came a boatman in his skiff; he carries a sturgeon which he had caught, looks with wonder on the ladies, and asks who they be and whence they come. 'Seest thou not, then, that we are strangers, and of all human help forlorn?' said the queen. 'We are in danger of dying by hunger; give us something to eat, man.' The fisher felt pity, and said, 'I have nothing but water and a fish.' He struck a light, lit a fire, and cooked the fish. And the queen sate and eat thereof, waited on by the fisher and her maid. Meanwhile Brother Martin comes back, and reports that a sure escort is riding behind him to take them thence."

The knights and their company came. They were soldiers of Bishop Adelhard of Reggio, one of the most loyal followers of the queen's dead husband. They led her

to the bishop, and, by his advice, one of his vassals, Count Azzo, who was a relative of hers, conducted her to his mountain castle not far from Reggio, the castle of Canossa, the strongest castle in Upper Italy in the modern duchy of Modena. The ruins of this mountain-keep, so famous in after days, are still standing.

Berengar pursued the fugitives even to this place of refuge; he besieged Canossa, but she remained concealed on the impregnable rocks. From this safe abode her emissaries issued by secret paths to treat with the disaffected, and her party increased daily; the beauty and the fortunes of Adelaide were as powerful influences as their bitter discontent with the rule of Berengar. But when these Italian grandees, spiritual and temporal, invited the German king to come, they had no enthusiastic desire to have the German king King of Italy; their Italian selfishness reckoned that King Otto was strong enough to put down Berengar; the disaffected who declared for Otto, would, out of gratitude, be raised by him to high positions, and otherwise rewarded; Otto would be a king who lived far away beyond the Alps; from him no

abiding influence on Italy need be feared; he would leave them room to be themselves lords of the land.

Brother Martin undertook to carry to the German king Adelaide's own cry for help—a dangerous and romantic message. With a few attendants he crossed the Alps.

That kind of chivalry, which is called chivalry towards the ladies, Otto had not displayed towards his wife Edith and his mother Matilda; and however romantic the distress of the fair Adelaide and her invitation was, yet the prospect opened for Otto's ambition and love of power was more seductive, more influential in deciding his conduct, than the young imprisoned queen in Canossa with all her wondrous beauty. There rose up before Otto's vision the fair land of Italy, the crown of Lombardy, and beyond them the imperial crown of Rome; moreover the widow had, what Otto was always seeking as he always needed it, plenty of money. Adelaide was as rich as she was beautiful and accomplished—rich not merely in lands, but in the great treasure of her house, which could be recovered from the robber Berengar. Charles the Great had possessed Italy, had possessed the iron crown and the throne of the Cæsars; for both, the opportunity now beckoned Otto.

He hastened to summon the nobles of his German kingdom; he discussed with them his expedition to Italy, and made the necessary preparations.

A step-mother of nineteen years of age, of great talents and bewitching beauty, did not seem in the eyes of Otto's son Liudolf good for his interests. The son of Edith had been married when he was sixteen, and made duke of Swabia; he was now just nineteen years old. In 946, shortly after the death of his mother, Liudolf, in a solemn assembly of the grandees of the German realm, had been chosen by them as the successor to the German throne. King Otto had, not without trouble and expense, brought this about. He had done it in the first impression made by the death of Edith, perhaps moved by some last word of hers in favor of her son.

Liudolf thought with anxiety, that the bewitching step-mother of nineteen might get his father into the snare—that by her beauty and intriguing talents, and by her gold, she might seek to obtain from the king and the nobles the succession to the throne for a possible step-brother, and, this once obtained, induce them to repeal the resolutions of the diet of 946, and to hold a new election.

Young as Liudolf was, he saw this time justly; he had, perhaps, heard more than his father about Adelaide, for the then duchy of Swabia bordered close on Italy, and an active intercourse existed between them.

He and his advisers determined to anticipate his father by an expedition on his own account to Italy to overthrow Berengar, and so render superfluous Otto's expedition in the autumn. The intrigues of his uncle Henry, duke of Bavaria, made the undertaking of Liudolf fail. Between the duke of Swabia and the duke of Bavaria, between nephew and uncle, "malicious people had sown discontent about border affairs, and they had come to quarrels and enmity." Henry, out of hate, now urgently advised the Italian nobles not to join Liudolf on his expedition. Liudolf, in conse-

quence, when he hastened to anticipate his father in Italy, found, contrary to his expectation, almost no accessions, and many a gate closed against him. He could scarcely maintain himself in Italy, and would have been reduced to great distress, had he not been able to fall back upon the army of his father, which, powerful and well equipped, had meanwhile crossed the Alps. King Otto received him ungraciously, on account of his inconsiderate and independent proceeding, and hence animosity arose in the heart of Liudolf.

Otto had advanced into the rich plain of Lombardy without drawing sword, and without much trouble. While he was marching down the vale of the Adige, even before he came to Verona, the bishops and abbots from Trent and throughout Lombardy, decided for Otto and against Berengar, and the temporal nobles followed the example of the spiritual lords. King Berengar retired, without a battle, from his capital of Pavia into one of his strong castles when the German army drew near; and the next day, the 23d September, 951, Otto entered Pavia; the city had voluntarily thrown open her gates.

Berengar reckoned that the fickleness of the nobles, clerical and lay, would bring them to his side again as soon as their cupidity had been satisfied by Otto as a reward for submission; and that when none of them had anything to expect from the Germans, then they would again be accessible to his gold and his donations—his star would rise again.

Otto now called himself King of Italy. His first object in this expedition, the junction of Italy to Germany, was attained. He now dispatched from Pavia his brother Henry, the handsome duke, to formally demand the hand of Adelaide. She hurried from Canossa to throw herself into the arms of Otto, who was her wooer, and also the most powerful prince of Europe.

A few weeks after his entrance into Pavia, King Otto celebrated his marriage with Adelaide—he, the German widower of thirty-nine, with her, the Italian widow of nineteen. From the first moment the enchantress had captivated Otto by her personal charms, and she mastered the semi-barbarian German, who was just beginning to learn his letters, by her varied talents and accomplishments. The king, in his extravagance of love for her, gave her a dower so surpassingly rich, that its unexampled greatness displeased all the Germans. It was to many a proof of what power the young bride had gained in a short time over the king, and what influence on him and the affairs of the kingdom she would at length attain.

That the thoughts of such a woman must have been turned to placing on her head the imperial crown, even if Otto's wishes had not already been directed, as they were, to the diadem of the Roman empire—that she would ardently impel him on this un-German path—can have been no longer doubtful to those German grandees who were at the marriage feast at Pavia, who saw the splendor and magnificence of the bridal ceremony, and beheld Otto and Adelaide side by side. Even before Otto's expedition to Italy, there were in Germany many men who had joined in it only to please the king, and very unwillingly; in fact, a large portion of the North-German lords had held

aloof from it. The meddling of the Germans in the affairs of Italy, journeys to Rome, journeys in quest of the imperial crown, were well remembered as things which, from the times of the Frank power, had brought curses on the countries and peoples north of the Alps. The writers of the day expressly state that beside those who had preceded him under his son Liudolf, the king was accompanied only by his brother Henry and his Bavarians, by his son-in-law Conrad the Red and his Lorrainers, by the archbishops and bishops of Mainz, Treves, Metz, Toul, Chur, and "numerous" lay lords.

The heart of the German nation, even in later days, was never in it—when German kings allowed themselves to be enticed across the Alps to get the imperial crown,

and, as they phrased it, to restore German power in Italy; still less was the German heart in it at the times of Otto. Men remembered too freshly what blood and treasure the Carlovings had squandered on the soil of Italy, not for the power of Germany, but for their own vanity, ambition, and lust of rule; and how the Roman imperial crown had also brought in its train the necessity of making ever new expeditions, which exhausted the bulk of the German nation, over the Alps, far away into Italy.

The Roman imperial crown and the Italian policy of the German kings were, from the beginning, even under Otto I., something quite unpopular in the German territories. The heart of the German people saw with truth, that since these expeditions of German kings in quest of the Roman imperial coronation

and the dominion of Italy, Germany and Italy had worked each other much woe.

New dissensions of a dangerous character arose from the marriage of Otto and Adelaide. With the fair but ambitious and intriguing wife there came a firebrand of discord and misery into the royal house. The most powerful impulses in Henry, the king's brother, were vanity, love of power, the spirit of intrigue; it had become clear to him that it was an impossibility to thrust his brother off his throne, and therefore his thoughts and plans were directed, not to rule in Otto's stead, but to rule through Otto. He chose the part of the man who creeps into the confidence of a ruler, accommodates himself to all his whims and wishes, is the minister of his eye and his ear, has always something threatening and dangerous which he has found out, to impart to his master, and who thus seeks to make himself indispensable. Such he was to

Otto. Otto showed his blind confidence, and also a want of foresight, in sending his handsome, intriguing brother as the bearer of his proposals of matrimony to the fair Adelaide. Henry saw at once that this woman would impress her influence on Otto, and he determined to become her ally. He suited her, as she suited him ; they understood each other ; an understanding which was visible even at the marriage—an immoral understanding is not to be assumed—they agreed to share influence over the king. Liudolf, the king's son, very soon perceived the secret league between his step-mother and his hostile uncle.

Soon after the marriage, Liudolf, without the consent or knowledge of his father, left Pavia in the utmost secrecy, and crossed the Alps with speed. He was certain that Adelaide and her accomplice Henry would steal from him his father's heart and love—that he would be sacrificed by the pair. To anticipate them, to rescue the king from the plots and wiles of the couple by the aid of the nobles who remained at home, he came to an understanding with all those who, from the first, had seen no good in the king's marriage with the strange woman, in his Italian expedition, and his views of an Italian kingdom and the Roman imperial crown. Archbishop Frederick of Mainz had gone with Liudolf from Pavia to Germany. At Saalfeld, on Christmas day, many German grandes, chiefly Saxon, assembled around the king's son, by whose side stood Archbishop Frederick, the first ecclesiastical prince of the realm. They formed a close league with Liudolf.

Although, as it appears, the resolutions and proceedings of the assembled nobles were at first directed only against the evil influence of Henry and the king's Italian policy, yet new troubles threatened to arise therefrom in Germany ; Otto at first renounced his designs in Italy, and hurried with Adelaide to Germany at the end of February, 952. He took her to his mother Matilda at Pöhlde in the Harz, and thence to the grave of Edith in Magdeburg. He now presented her with Magdeburg. By her beauty and talents she soon won to her side the heart of many a Saxon noble.

When Otto left Italy, the greatest part of the German army returned because the legal time of service had expired ; only part remained behind under Conrad the Red, duke of Lorraine. Otto had left him, his son-in-law, to govern Upper Italy and hold it against Berengar ; Otto well knew that Berengar's party was far from broken up, and could be easily reinforced by means of the treasure at Berengar's disposal after the retreat of the German army. The position and the task of Conrad were alike difficult.

When the German army had retired with Otto, Berengar left his mountain stronghold to revive the struggle for his crown. Conrad, who alone, being on the spot, was in a position to judge of the state of affairs, and to plan and accomplish what was necessary and to the point, instead of fighting, entered into negotiations with Berengar. He could do so, because the king hitherto had listened to his advice, and had always approved and sanctioned whatever he had done in any post entrusted to him. In the critical position in which Conrad found himself with his few Germans, and which daily became more perilous from the well-known mercenary character of the Italians,

he acted correctly when he concluded with Berengar an agreement highly favorable for the German kingdom.

Perhaps Conrad, being longer in Italy than Otto had been, had got sufficient insight into Italian affairs, and so learnt that the rule of the Germans in Italy must always be insecure, and that the sustenance of this rule continually demanded a considerable force of Germans beyond the Alps, and the expenditure of much money to bribe the party joining with the Germans and keep them on the German side. But just then all the forces of Germany were required at home to oppose the Slaves, Danes and Hungarians.

Apart from this, the squandering of so much German blood and treasure beyond the Alps was far too high a price for what was so hard to be won and so hard to keep; the king would form a higher opinion of his power; the German people would gain nothing; a few favorites of the king might obtain positions in Italy, in which they could easily enrich themselves. But the imperial crown had changed even Charles the Great, and made him at last tyrannical. In the sagacious head of Conrad, and in the heads of many a Saxon and Franconian, the presentiment and the fear must have arisen that the German king might be induced by Adelaide, his foreign bride, to exchange his northern home for a residence under a southern sky, and transfer the centre of gravity of the kingdom from Germany to Italy.

Conrad, as Otto's lieutenant, guaranteed to Berengar the continued possession of his kingdom, on condition that he acknowledged the German king as his feudal overlord, and went with him immediately to Germany to take solemnly the oath of feudal allegiance. If Berengar received Lombardy as a fief from the king of the Germans, and became his vassal, it was for the advantage of Otto himself; it was for the good of the German nation, because no Italian expeditions and permanent military occupations beyond the Alps would be necessary; it was also to the advantage of the Italian nobles as well as of Berengar.

But the Italian Adelaide and her friend and ally Henry, the king's brother, did not find this treaty agreeable to their wishes or to their interests. This pair had already progressed far in their plan of ruling Otto.

Although Adelaide was a Burgundian, and, by her mother Bertha, daughter of Duke Burchard I. of Swabia, even of Swabian blood, yet she was essentially and from the bottom an Italian. Her father, the king of Burgundy, Rudolf II., had been crowned king of Italy in Pavia, and when, after four years of residence in Italy, he returned to his home in Burgundy, Italian fashions continued at his court. Adelaide was Italian in soul. No female heart, least of all an Italian heart, could forget and forgive the injuries and insults which Adelaide had endured from Berengar and his wife. Adelaide longed for revenge, and Henry supported her.

Henry had hoped for Berengar's downfall, and for a good share of his confiscated lands to increase his Bavarian duchy. But Duke Conrad did not think it wise to make his uncle still more powerful, for he saw that Henry was the evil genius of the king and the king's house; and Henry's hate of Conrad became bitterer because the

latter, by his treaty with Berengar, crossed his designs of aggrandizement. Adelaide was an enemy to Conrad because he had given such terms to one she had so many reasons to hate. Henry and Adelaide, therefore, wished to prepare the keenest humiliation for King Berengar, and, at the same time, for Conrad, who had pledged himself to Berengar.

Otto was worked on by his wife and his brother till, like a mere inanimate tool, he committed one political folly after another ; his actions, judged from a moral standpoint, were in the highest degree unworthy of a king in Otto's position.

When the duke of Lorraine and King Berengar came to Magdeburg, King Otto allowed and the vengeful spirit of Adelaide demanded that the king of Italy, who had come thither on the assurances of Otto's son-in-law, wait fully three days before he was received or had an audience. Conrad, the king's son-in-law, was with justice wounded by this humiliation of the man who had trusted himself to his mediation, and with whom, as the king's plenipotentiary, he had formed a treaty very favorable for Germany.

According to the assurance given by Duke Conrad of Lorraine, Berengar had the right to demand the continued possession of his kingdom without any loss. But Otto, ruled by Henry and Adelaide, at first refused to acknowledge at all the agreement of

Conrad with Berengar, but, finally, when he perceived the danger of rejecting the treaty, the dissensions which would arise from so doing in his own royal family, he was induced to fulfil, if not all that his son-in-law had given Berengar assurance for, yet the chief points; and even these were referred to a diet of the Church and kingdom held in Augsburg. In this diet, in August, 952, King Berengar and his son Adalbert appeared. Both knelt and paid solemn homage to the German king as their feudal over-lord, and Berengar received the Lombard kingdom as a fief. Otto laid aside the title of King of Italy, but Berengar had to bind himself to pay the high annual tribute of twelve hundred pounds of gold, and to cede the duchy of Friuli.

This duchy had fallen apart into the marquisates of Istria, Aquileia, Verona and Trent. These Marches were now taken from Italy. Otto joined them to the German kingdom, and granted them to the duke of Bavaria, his brother Henry. Germany, possessing Aquileia and Verona, had in her hand the keys of Italy.

This policy of Otto's has been condemned long ago; "either Berengar ought to have been dismissed to Italy with honorable treatment, as Conrad had guaranteed, after his acknowledgment of German supremacy, and the possession of his kingdom granted to him, or, if Otto was willing to let injustice guide him, he ought to have gone further, and Berengar would never more have seen Italy." Such is the judgment pronounced a century ago by Mannert, who adds, "more senseless treatment than Berengar's by Otto can be scarcely imagined."

Thus the private passions of two members of Otto's court played with the fate of two great nations, with the weal of two great kingdoms—a young woman and her handsome friend, towards whom the king was weak. Female revenge had some satisfaction; Henry's lust of aggrandizement had obtained a brilliant success; the dukedom of Bavaria became raised, by accession of the four Italian marquisates, to the first rank in power and importance among the German dukedoms. With this increase of power, Henry enjoyed a complete triumph over his rival in the king's confidence, over Duke Conrad. At no period of his reign was Otto so weak and short-sighted as in this honeymoon after his second marriage. That from his being thus dependent on others, from his being but half himself, grievous misery must of necessity result for the German and the Italian nation, Otto could no longer see; and what was the weal or woe of nations in the eyes of an Adelaide or a Henry?

Conrad, doubly grieved, could not leave his father-in-law in the hands of the wily Adelaide and Henry; he knew that Otto's errors, political and personal, that all the insults shown to him and Berengar, proceeded from the queen and his uncle; love for the kingdom and the nation of the Germans, as well as love for Otto, made him seek gradually to dissolve the enchantment and the delusion under which Otto was held, and to restore to the king his independence by opening his eyes to the miseries for the royal house and the German nation which would result from the plans of the pair; for that his treatment of Berengar could have no other results than new Italian troubles, new expeditions across the Alps, new expenditure of German blood and treasure for something which the German nation did not want, something the pos-



session of which could only benefit a couple at the court, and could only injure the German people, this Conrad and every thinking man foresaw.

Conrad the son-in-law, like Liudolf the son, failed in weakening, not to mention destroying, the influence of Henry on the king. Henry continued to govern him by means of Adelaide and her charms, and nature herself aided the conspirators; soon after the diet at Augsburg, Adelaide bore a son. Henry was his godfather, and the child received at the font the name of Henry, which his uncle and grandfather bore. Contemporaries assert that the report was current that the queen, supported by Henry, obtained from King Otto a promise he would propose to the German princes that the German crown be given to this child; the very crown which had been already destined to Edith's son Liudolf at the suggestion of Otto, who induced the German princes to elect Liudolf as his successor. The princes had confirmed by an oath their election of Liudolf.

The majority of the princes saw with displeasure how the Italian wife and her non-German party ruled Otto, and how he, instead of directing his thoughts to Germany and German politics, looked only to Italy and the Roman imperial crown. The report that Otto intended to propose to them the revocation of their sworn confirmation of Liudolf's election, and the election of the child of the Italian wife, could not but touch their feelings of honor, and their discontent so increased that they believed themselves compelled to assume a position hostile to Otto. The opposition of Liudolf and his brother-in-law Conrad found an echo in the nobility and people of Germany. The grant of the four Italian Marches to the queen's accomplice Henry, the overbearing man who was disliked equally by gentle and simple in Bavaria, was regarded in Bavaria as something unpopular, and their duke Henry was looked on, as indeed he was, as the promoter and cause of Otto's Italian policy, which threatened first Bavaria, and then all Germany, with the unnatural burdens of new forced levies for expeditions into Italy for thoroughly unnational ends. Therefore the nobility and people of Bavaria were unanimous for Conrad the son-in-law, and for Liudolf the son of King Otto, when these two, in close alliance, publicly declared against Henry their uncle, whom the king had imposed as duke on the Bavarians.

They did not intend a revolt against the king, but a feud against Henry. Henry's power must be broken by the sword, himself overthrown; and to effect this, Liudolf in Swabia and Conrad in Lorraine took arms in the spring of 953.

Of the boundless delusion which then possessed Otto, who was wrapped up in Adelaide and his hopes of entirely subjugating Italy and of the imperial crown, we have a striking proof in the fact that the preparations and armaments of his son and son-in-law and the opinion of southeastern and southwestern Germany excited no suspicion. He first noticed the armaments of his son and son-in-law at Ingelheim on a journey to the Rhine. To secure himself from any attack, he changed his quarters from the palace of Ingelheim to the neighboring strong city of Mainz. The citizens perhaps had on previous occasions received him with applause; but in the city his old adversary, the Archbishop Frederick, resided, and he, in company with Liudolf,

had left Pavia for Germany before the conclusion of the marriage festivities. And yet the king entered Mainz without regarding the circumstance that the citizens did not come to meet him, and they kept him waiting longer than was befitting before their gates. The archbishop received him with a friendly countenance; he offered himself as a mediator between him and his children Liudolf and Conrad, and at Frederick's invitation both came to Mainz.

Both declared to the king without reservation, but in submission to the king and father, the state of the kingdom, the evil influence of Duke Henry and his un-German, selfish policy, which made Otto himself unpopular. They publicly confessed to the king what they intended to do with regard to Henry, who had led the king into a wrong road, and was leading him still more astray. They told the king that their armaments were not directed against him, but against their uncle, who had led both Adelaide and the king into errors; they told him also the conditions under which they would let drop the execution of their designs against Henry. The Archbishop Frederick spoke as a mediator in behalf of the king's son and son-in-law. It cannot be doubted that now, for the first time, the king heard the truth, and had the state of affairs, both with regard to men and things, brought to his eyes and ears. The king granted to Liudolf and Conrad all their demands, and that in the form of a solemn treaty.

None of the panegyrists of Otto have given us the points of this treaty; it was not for their or Otto's interest to say the truth, since they have unmistakably, on purpose, either perverted or concealed what took place. Widukind lets the remark escape, "Otto found in Saxony the king he had almost lost in Franconia in Mainz." The monk of Corvey, who, as court historian, wrote a history of Saxony, must have known the treaty of Mainz.

All treaties at that time were confirmed by oath. We may therefore assume with confidence that Otto had sworn in legal form to the treaty negotiated by the archbishop between him and his relatives; the crafty prelate and the politic Conrad would not neglect to give the agreement the form proper to a solemn treaty.

From the position and the previous course of events, we may conclude that the treaty of Mainz contained the confirmation of Liudolf's right to succeed on the throne—a right arising from the election by the German princes; the fulfilment of all the engagements which Conrad, as the king's representative, had made with Berengar, and therefore the restoration of the Italian Marches which had been granted to Duke Henry; and the conversion of King Otto from his Italian policy to a genuinely German policy; to attention to Germany and to a renunciation of his dreams about Italy, his plans of dominion, his ideas of subjugating and uniting to the German kingdom peoples of foreign nationality utterly foreign to the Germans.

At Mainz, Otto had treated with the leaders of the German party. Here he was far from the Italian party in his court. Conrad and Liudolf may have been actuated by personal reasons; but personal reasons coincided with the interests of Germany, and the Archbishop Frederick and the dukes of Lorraine and Swabia were, as events

proved, the true representatives of a German policy. They wished to preserve the German nation from the fatal consequences which could not but arise from a union of Germany and Italy, and from the non-fulfilment of the terms which Conrad had guaranteed. The evil results of the treaty of Augsburg were now actually before their eyes.

As soon as King Berengar and his son Adalbert returned to Italy from Augsburg, with deep indignation in their hearts, they began to avenge themselves on those who had taken part against them when the German king had defeated him. Berengar thereby won new partisans among the people who believed that nothing but the defection of so many clerical and lay grandes from Berengar had brought him into the position of accepting the kingdom of Italy as a *benefice* from the king of the Germans, and in such a maimed condition that the two keys of Italy remained in the hands of the Germans. Berengar therefore left unfulfilled the chief point of the Augsburg convention—the cession of the Italian Marches to the Bavarian duke Henry, as far as the latter had not occupied them—and soon expelled from Verona and Aquileia the Bavarian garrisons of Henry.

A new warlike complication, therefore, threatened from Italy; and for what and whom? The aggrandizement of Henry by foreign provinces was not a German object worthy of a new war beyond the Alps; the interests of the German nation, if not the wishes of Henry and Adelaide, demanded some other way of keeping up friendly relations between Germany and Italy. The German party in Otto's kingdom were right in thinking that Italy and Germany ought not to serve merely to satisfy the ambition of one man, but to benefit each other by friendly intercourse. At Mainz King Otto had adopted this policy, to the great astonishment of the Romish clergy, as well those beyond the Alps over whom King Berengar had tyrannized, as of those on the German side of the Alps who favored Rome. Archbishop Frederick thus showed himself to be an ecclesiastical prince of German sentiments, not of Papal proclivities; nevertheless private views and ambitions were not quite strange to him.

Neither threats nor violence had been used by Liudolf and Conrad or by Frederick to force the king to assent to their demands. It is true, Otto had but few companions in Mainz, in a city where the burghers, like the archbishop, Conrad, and Liudolf, were of German sentiments, and disgusted with the Italian fashions of the court, and with Italian expeditions and projects. But that they threatened him with imprisonment or with any violence, or that they resorted even to moral pressure on the king, is nowhere stated. Not till Otto had left Mainz and been again surrounded with the queen and her party and guided and ruled by them, not till he was in Saxony, was there any change in Otto. Then Adelaide and Henry vied with each other in reproaching the king, and he was induced to declare the treaty of Mainz as null from duress; the treaty he had solemnly sworn to keep. Henry and Otto hastened to arm themselves against those whom this violation of the convention injured, and whom Henry had to fear.

Widukind praises Otto's conduct in the terms above quoted. "He found in Saxony the king he had almost lost in Franconia." Otto summoned a general diet of the kingdom at Fritzlar, in Lower Hesse, on the Eder. He kept his Easter at Dortmund; he here succeeded in detaching from Conrad many nobles of Lorraine, and thus arousing party strife in Lorraine and weakening Conrad in his own country.

Many German grandees did not appear at the diet of Fritzlar, nor did Conrad and Liudolf. King Otto, surrounded by his own party, which formed the greater part of the assembly, again displayed his passionate temperament. Without having heard his son or his son-in-law—without assigning, in case of non-appearance, a second or third diet, as was the custom in such cases—Otto pronounced outlaws and in contempt Duke Conrad and Duke Liudolf. Otto acted as though the treaty of Mainz involved *lèse majesté*. And yet nothing had been done there against the king; merely threats were uttered of hostile proceedings against his brother Henry if the treaty formed under Henry's influence at Augsburg were not altered, and adapted to a national policy.

At the same time, Otto, without reserve, declared that he abided by his views on Italy, and that he would severely punish every attempt to check them. The romantic element in Otto's character was used for their own interests by the court clergy, the queen Adelaide, and the duke Henry, and Otto was misguided as before. To be lord of Germany and Italy at the same time, to gain the imperial crown, were ideas by which Otto was now possessed; the distant Italian prospects had become more alluring as the enchantress Adelaide daily painted them. She did not like the northern skies of Saxony, the rough-hewn Saxon warriors, and she hoped, as it is proved, hoped with certainty, that if Otto were king of Italy and Roman emperor, he would prefer with her the other side of the Alps, and that she could spend long years with him in Italy.

Otto's proceedings at the diet of Fritzlar caused grief to many of the nobles and to the people of Saxony and Thuringia, and provoked a general revolt in Swabia and Franconia. Otto, by his decrees at Fritzlar, had committed a threefold injury: to old custom, which forbade to condemn unheard, or to pronounce sentence of outlawry without a thrice-repeated summons; to pride of race, as entertained by the Franconians and Swabians; to the national feeling, which struggled against his un-German plans and un-German court-life. As in Franconia and Swabia pride of race and national feeling coincided, the revolt against the king was more general there and deeper. The summer of 953 saw the horrors of civil war again raging in German territory.

The dukes whom, unheard and in violation of the sworn treaty of Mainz, Otto pronounced in contempt and outlawed, together with their followers who were outlawed with them, had taken up arms in self-defence. The Franconians sided with their countryman Conrad, and therefore with the Swabians, who were loyal to Liudolf. Mainz was the head-quarters of this opposition. From Mainz Liudolf with his Swabians and Franconians could extend a hand to Conrad duke of Lorraine, and at the

same time await the royal army which Otto, accompanied by Adelaide and Henry, was leading against him.

It was well known that it had been Conrad the Red who, in a good time for King Otto, had tamed the fickle and mutinous nobles of Lorraine. The Lorrainers bore a grudge for this against their tamer, the Franconian Conrad. The higher nobility, previously so hostile, now became favorable to the king. As Conrad had from the first to maintain himself against the grandees by the people's aid, he now for his own interests appealed to the lower nobility and the people; and they stood by him. But as Lorraine was thickly set with bishoprics and abbeys, and as Conrad was evidently no favorite of the princes of the Church, the struggle between the royalists and the duke was an unequal one, for the spiritual dignitaries and the high temporal lords were richer in every kind of resources for waging war than the ducal party. It was, indeed, these same lords of Lorraine, in buff-coat or in surplice, who had been at the diet of Fritzlar.

Thus Lorraine became the theatre of the most bloody civil war, in which the people suffered unspeakable misery. It was not a war for the king which these nobles of Lorraine waged, but a war, waged under the king's name, to take revenge on Duke Conrad—to trample down the last remnants of the free commons and of popular rights, to make themselves petty kings, each in the circle of his estates.

The country was terribly devastated. After an encounter on the Maas, Duke Conrad had to withdraw to Mainz. Liudolf, Conrad's brother-in-law, was still in this strong fortress; but the Archbishop Frederick had left the city when the troops of Liudolf occupied it. In July, 953, King Otto and his army sat down before Mainz, and besieged his son and son-in-law. They defended the city so well, that the king lay for two months before it without the slightest success and with much loss. The temper of the army became doubtful in the king's own camp; men now uttered what had long been the public opinion of the majority of South Germans, "praises of the opposite party and their valor; their side is the right one; they are free from blame for this civil war; they were driven very unwillingly to take this burden upon them."

The discontent in the royal camp before Mainz, and the loudly-expressed sympathy of Southern Germany, and even of a part of Northern Germany, for the king's opponents, must have been great; for the clerical historians do not venture to conceal it, however unfavorable be the light in which it places their hero Otto. Beyond all doubt, the expressions of general disapprobation were much stronger than those reported, which are indeed strong enough.

The Bavarians especially, who were under the command of Henry before Mainz, became daily more difficult to manage. Otto was in such distress that he attempted to escape by proposing an armistice to the opposing party. The king concluded it with the express addition that he would during the armistice personally negotiate respecting peace, and he gave safe conduct for Conrad and Liudolf to appear at the negotiations.

Otto had, besides Henry, a younger brother, Bruno, who had embraced early the

ecclesiastical state. He was of distinguished talent, and of an understanding remarkably precocious. He could compare with any of his age in learning and eloquence; he was also a skilful, experienced diplomatist, well versed in all the business of government, and with inexhaustible power of work. He was affable and sympathizing; always accessible, he listened to all complaints or appeals for help, and presented them in due form and at the proper time to the king. The latter made Bruno, while very young, head of the chancery of the kingdom on account of his great qualifications for the office. Bruno was born in the spring of 925, and in 940—that is, between his fifteenth and sixteenth years—he became chancellor. Otto was much indebted to him for his conduct of his official business; Ruotger, his biographer and contemporary, says of him, “There never was a more industrious man, yet in the middle of business he always had leisure.”

This uncle of Liudolf and Conrad was very anxious to effect the reconciliation of the father with the son and son-in-law. In July, 953—that is, during the course of the civil war—Otto had raised Bruno to the archbishopric of Cologne, as that see was then vacant by death. He arranged the conference in the camp before Mainz, and had brought Liudolf and Conrad into such a yielding temper toward the king, that they came and were willing to submit on the basis of their negotiations with the king after the conclusion of the treaty of Mainz. When they met the king, they knelt as children to a father and as subjects to a king; Otto raised them. Both declared, Conrad as well as Liudolf, that they stood on the treaty of Mainz as the basis for peace, and that they had taken the sword not against the king, but against Henry. This speech moved Henry’s anger; the treaty of Mainz robbed him, forsooth, of his booty, which King Berengar had already in fact recovered. Henry kept goading on the king. Otto was willing to forgive and forget, and to make peace with his son and son-in-law, but they must give up the nobles who had joined their party. This both Conrad and Liudolf indignantly refused to do. The king’s threats, Bruno’s eloquence and friendly words, all the arguments of the king and father and of the archbishop, had no effect on the steadfast honor of the two dukes. They were far too noble to abandon their friends to the revenge of a Henry and an Adelaide, in order to gain the father’s heart and to recover everything.

The venomous disposition of Henry broke off the arrangement. He inveighed against Liudolf in the most offensive words. Liudolf made no reply, but turned his back and prepared to leave with Conrad. Bruno detained them. He begged his nephew, for every reason, to renew once more negotiations with his father. But as Bruno could give no pledge that Otto would accept their preliminary conditions, as the king himself made no show of desiring reconciliation, and as Conrad and Liudolf knew that, in the present case, Adelaide and Henry were more powerful than the loyal-hearted Bruno, they listened indeed to their uncle, but departed to continue the war.

To a clear-sighted and sagacious man like Bruno, the tyranny exercised by Adelaide and Henry over his brother must have been displeasing; the German policy of Conrad

and Liudolf must have seemed to him the true policy, and persistence in the advice of Adelaide and Henry must have appeared to him highly perilous in the then temper of the country and the camp. In times of peace, in affairs of state, working in his office with his royal brother, Bruno could persuade; but in this Italian question and in the camp, Adelaide, Henry, and the king's own longings for power and splendor silenced Bruno's advice. The passions of the two who had acquired the art of employing for their selfish ends the weakness of the king, and even his temporary ebullitions of anger, conquered on this occasion, too, the statesmanlike advice and understanding of Bruno. Yet Bruno's heart seems to have been given to Liudolf alone, not to the husband of his niece Liutgard. Otto deprived his son-in-law of the dukedom of Lorraine, his son of the dukedom of Swabia.

When it was known in the king's camp that the negotiations had fallen through, and how the king and Henry had acted, the dissatisfaction of the soldiery expressed itself loudly, and in the following night the Bavarians left their quarters for the purpose of going over to Liudolf and Conrad. All that the king and the duke of Bavaria could do to induce them to return was in vain. A body of troops just arrived from Saxony followed their example. In Saxony itself the discontent with Otto and the foreign party was increasing; and the Markgrave Hermann, the son of Billung, was the man whose energy and circumspection the king had to thank that Saxony too did not openly revolt. The government of Bavaria had been given by Duke Henry, when he marched to Mainz, to the Palgrave Arnulf, the youngest brother of Eberhard, the duke expelled by Otto.

This Arnulf, one of the house of the old tribal dukes, the son of the once powerful, almost independent Duke Arnulf the Bad, now thought of the ill-fortunes of his house, and believed that the time had come to recover the ducal dignity which had been torn from his house—now when the nobility and people of Bavaria were all sick of Duke Henry, the Saxon. He too deserted to Liudolf and Conrad.

Otto had now beleaguered Mainz for three months, without success. His army, already weakened by these desertions *en masse*, was now melting totally away, because the time of service had expired, and he had to dismiss every soldier who wished to return home. Nothing therefore remained but to raise the siege. Liudolf, upon this, advanced immediately with the Swabians and the Bavarians who had joined him, into the country of Bavaria. Here the nobles and people joined him in crowds; they adopted the party of Liudolf and Conrad so warmly that, as Widukind says, "supporters of the king were very rare." Henry had done the king unspeakable damage in this country. The Bavarians were opposed to the king because they were opposed to Henry. The cities of Bavaria opened their gates to Liudolf, and before Henry could bring any aid, Liudolf had seized the chief city Ratisbon, where Henry's wife and children and the ducal treasures were. The duchess fled with her children in such haste that she left the whole treasure; Liudolf seized the jewels and the money, and divided the latter among his partisans. He took up his abode in Ratisbon in September, 953.

The king and Henry attempted to recover Bavaria and to quell the revolt. But when Otto came, all the cities kept their gates closed. He encamped before Ratisbon. Its walls and towers were too strong, and his force too weak to capture it; even the Bavarian bishops could not be relied on; they professed friendship to both parties—the king and his opponents at the same time. Otto had to return “after devastating the country.”

The situation of the king became worse daily. Bavaria, Swabia, Franconia were in arms against him; even in Saxony revolt was spreading. There Otto's old adversaries, the Saxon grandes Wichmann and Eckbert, were at the head of the movement, and were absolutely in armed insurrection. Hermann, the son of Billung, was sore pressed. The insurgents had formed an alliance with the princes of the northwestern Slaves, the brothers Nako and Stoignef, and roused them to revolt. The Ukers were in movement against the Markgrave Gero. In Lorraine alone the royalist party was in the ascendant.

Conrad had marched from Mainz to Lorraine to recover by arms the dukedom of which the king had deprived him, and to expel the newly-appointed duke. This new duke of Lorraine was Bruno, the archbishop of Cologne, the king's brother. The king had made a priest, a prince of the Church, the duke of a great German race; this was something unheard of—a thing which had been previously an impossibility. Bruno, however, conducted himself with such skill in his ducal dignity, and obtained such success with the party opposed to Duke Conrad, that the latter failed in driving the priest-duke from his position.

This was the only bright spot for King Otto; he had no prospects in any other quarter. He had brought himself to this pass because he would not be satisfied with the German kingdom—because his love of extended dominion had deprived him of the affection of the Germans and arrayed them against him. Germany trembled under his feet. At the end of the year 953, through his grasping at the crown of Italy, the crown of Germany was near slipping from his head.

The king's opponents continued to progress. Arnulf, Palgrave of Bavaria, conquered Augsburg and besieged its bishop in his castle of Schwab-München. Archbishop Frederick of Mainz had thrown himself into the town of Breisach in the Breisgau. This town was the place of arms and rendezvous for the insurgents on the Upper Rhine. The deprived Duke Conrad held the Middle and Lower Rhine. While the king's position was thus hopeless at home, it was reduced almost to despair by external dangers, the armed rising of the Slaves in the northwest, and new inroads of plundering hordes of Magyars in the east.

The Wendish tribes adjoining the Saxons may have had an understanding with the Magyars, although from previous events there is some improbability of it. It may be credible that they were stirred up by the Saxons Wichmann and Eckbert; but these Slaves had in their own oppression sufficient grounds to urge them to free themselves from German rule at a time when the opportunity seemed so favorable. They could not but form such a resolve in the disturbed state of Germany.



What insult and ill-treatment the unhappy Slaves had to endure from their German lords and the taskmasters imposed by them, how inhumanly the tyranny of the German priests and nobles brandished the scourge over their subjects, can be seen from the language of Thietmar, the contemporary bishop of Merseburg, who, without shame or reserve, says: "To make the Wend obedient, one must give him hay to eat like an ox, and flog him like an ass."

A people so ill-treated by foreign priests and soldiers must have been daily made rebellious at heart, and must have finally proceeded to overt rebellion. At the beginning of the year 954, the Slaves in this quarter were everywhere gaining the advantage, and at the same time, at the beginning of the year, the Magyars took the opportunity of the civil war to make new invasions into Germany on the south.

The Magyars had renewed their expeditions of plunder, not in a mass, but in numerous hordes, from time to time. After they had been defeated by Otto in the year 937, two detachments invaded German territory the next year—one directed against Thuringia and Saxony, the other against Southwest Germany. The latter body had swarmed through Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia, crossed the Rhine at Worms, laid waste Alsace, Lorraine, and the borders of France, and in spite of heavy loss had taken off its booty through Burgundy and Italy. The other column which entered Saxony separated into several bodies. One attacked Staderburg in Brunswick, was defeated, and, in the retreat, almost destroyed. Another stormed the nunnery of Oberkirchen and slew all the nuns, and the German people recognized the finger of God in the fact that few of this band, stained with the blood of these holy virgins, ever saw their homes again. A third had the commander of the expedition at its head. This was led astray by the representations of a cunning Wend who had offered himself as a guide; it saw itself suddenly led into the middle of the great forest of Drömling.

This forest, six German miles in length and three in breadth, is now mostly drained and rendered arable; the Drömling peasants had from old times the reputation of brave men and stout fighters, who, sallying from their abodes, which, surrounded by oaks and lying in the fens, were called "Horsten," had been accustomed to defeat their enemies. The river Ohre, marshy, unnavigable, and difficult to pass, flows through the forest. Here the Hungarian chief saw himself surrounded on all sides by the Saxons and Wends. The greater part of the Hungarians perished by the sword or in the morasses, into which thousands galloped; the leader was taken prisoner, and had to pay a heavy ransom for his liberty.

Yet the plunder-loving Magyars made new forays in 942 and 943. These were so soon encountered on the frontier that they had no success, thanks to the improved arrangements for defence made by Otto's father. While the Germans were at peace among themselves, the troops of the Marches sufficed to prevent the incursions of weaker hordes. In 942, the old Duke Berthold of Bavaria gave a great defeat to the plunderers on the banks of the Traun near Wels, in Upper Austria; and in 944 the Bavarians again nearly annihilated, in the mountains of Carinthia, with the help of the

natives, the invading bands of robbers. The chief of the Magyars, Zoltan, prohibited such forays for the future; and Germany was free from them till his death, which took place in 947.

But his son and successor, Toxis, burned to avenge their last defeats. During the years 948 to 950, Toxis made inroads, and long and bloody struggles took place between him and the wardens of the German Marches, the Carinthians, and the bordering Alpine tribes. The Bavarians and their duke Henry lent their support.

Under his command they drove the Hungarians out of Carinthia and Friuli, and pursued them across the Enns into their own land. They were victorious in two battles on Hungarian soil, and Duke Henry twice advanced beyond the Theiss as far as Charles the Great had done.

The German account says with triumph that Henry ravaged Hungary as far as the Theiss. Such revenge provoked retaliation from the sufferers. The internal condition of the German empire, weakened by civil war and the dissensions in King Otto's family, where father and son were contending, was a favorable opportunity for so doing. In 954 an independent band of plunderers attacked the southeastern March, at the very time when Germany was torn in Bavaria and elsewhere by the contending parties. The invasion of the Hungarians put Liudolf in a peculiar position. Bavaria was exhausted by the civil war. He was anxious to drive the

invaders from Bavarian soil; but to fight them and Otto at the same time, he had neither means nor force.

It is quite untrue that King Otto, in February, 954, appeared in Bavaria with an army hurriedly raised at the first news of the Magyar invasion to free Bavaria from their presence and protect the insurgent Bavarians, and that the Bavarians did not venture to give battle to him and his brother Henry. The army of Otto and Henry had been collected to oppose Liudolf before the Magyar invasion. Within the brief space of time between the Hungarian inroad into the Bavarian March and the appearance of Otto with his army in February, it was simply impossible, with the then means of communication and in the winter, to collect an army in old Saxony and appear on Bavarian soil. It was Liudolf who freed Bavaria from the Hungarians; he purchased their retreat by heavy payments, on condition not only of their quitting Bavaria, but sparing Swabia and Franconia, which they were merely to pass through. Duke Conrad was then in Worms.

In March the Hungarians were on the Rhine, and Conrad, too, sought to get rid as quickly as possible of these intruders in districts where most of his private property and the cities, villages, and castles of his party lay. He hospitably entertained the Hungarian chiefs, gave them gold and silver, and thus diverted their hostility from himself and his territories to his adversaries in Lorraine, the Duke-Archbishop Bruno and his party. The monkish chronicle of the year 954 says: "Conrad made a treaty with the Hungarians, and led them through Lorraine into the territory of his enemy Ragenar and Archbishop Bruno." It has hence been supposed that Conrad the Franconian took the Hungarian invaders into his pay, and led them in person under his command against his foes in Lorraine; that as it was impossible to keep the horde in obedience and under discipline and to meet his opponents in knightly warfare, the Hungarians robbed and wasted in their old fashion; then shame and repentance seized Conrad at sight of their deeds of violence and murder; hence we must explain his immediately subsequent surrender to the king, his father-in-law.

The supposition that Conrad took this wild horde into his pay and led it as mercenaries against his enemies, is contradicted by the direction of their march and the quick passage of the horde. For the annals say that the Hungarians, in separate squadrons, rushed without halt through Lorraine, and returned home by the shortest road through France and Italy.

Without doubt, however, a man so patriotic as Conrad, whose sagacity his contemporaries praised, must have been struck at the sight of the atrocities committed on German soil by these robbers, because the dissensions in the royal house crippled the arms of the nation. He must have been oppressed, too, with the thought that this horde, bearing in triumph to their homes their plunder, their silver and their gold, must have an effect in their homes, the effect of exciting the whole of their people to a campaign of plunder in the German kingdom. In view of the danger which threatened the Christian faith and German nationality, through the general insurrection of the Slaves in the northeast, and a general insurrection of the whole Hungarian family

of tribes in the southeast, both religious and national sentiment must have forbidden a continuation of the war by the Archbishop Frederick of Mainz, the ecclesiastical leader of the party opposed to all Italian plans and customs and to everything foreign, and by the Duke Conrad, and must have imposed on them the duty of making peace with the king. A change had been effected in public opinion by the invasion and passage of the Hungarian hordes, for in spite of the precautions of Liudolf and Conrad, Bavarians, Swabians, and Franconians suffered from the undisciplined bands, and Duke Henry and his party did not hesitate to spread the report that Liudolf and Conrad had called in the Hungarians.

The two dukes were quite innocent in this respect. Liudolf was so successful against the royalists in Bavaria, Archbishop Frederick and Conrad were so fully the masters of the Upper and Middle Rhine at the close of the year 953, that they had no need of Hungarian allies, for such an alliance would bring only perplexity, distress, and shame, and so transform their universally favorable position into a most unfavorable one. It was otherwise with the members of the old Bavarian family which had been deprived of the ducal dignity. Previous events have shown that a close connection existed between this family and the Magyar princes. The Palgrave Arnulf, his son Berthold, and Arnulf's cousin Gerold, Archbishop of Salzburg, were suspected by King Otto of having an understanding with the Magyars; but it is possible that Archbishop Gerold was only an enemy of Henry, was calumniated by him, and became afterwards a victim of his calumnies and hate.

King Otto and his brother Henry were far from making any attempt with their assembled army to attack the Hungarians in Bavaria, or pursue them when retreating. Great as the king's army was, their attack was intended merely for Liudolf, merely for the Bavarian capital of Ratisbon. Duke Henry wished to recover this his ducal residence, and with it Bavaria.

The calumny, disseminated by Henry and his party, that Liudolf and Conrad had invited the Hungarians, cannot have remained without influence on the change of public opinion in their disfavor, since it proceeded from the circle nearest the king, and was propagated by the clergy favorable to the king. But perhaps the sufferings of the districts visited by the devastating hordes had more effect, as well as clearer views of the danger to the country and religion if the Hungarians should invade the country in force during the civil war. But the deepest impression on the heart and resolution of Conrad must have been made by the death of his young wife, the king's daughter Liutgard, who had died in these days of conflict. May it not have been the last wish of the expiring princess that Conrad should make peace with her father? Conrad and the archbishop entered into negotiations with the king for an armistice, and Liudolf also joined them. The truce was to last till the 15th of June, 954, and a diet of the kingdom to meet at Langenzenn, to the west of Nürnberg, was to treat respecting reconciliation and peace. Conrad was reconciled to Otto before the expiration of the armistice; Archbishop Frederick followed his example.

Between Liudolf and his father peace and reconciliation would have been effected

at the diet of Langenzenn, had not Duke Henry intervened as the evil genius and provoked Liudolf by his venomous speeches, especially by his accusation that Liudolf had traitorously hired the Hungarians and prepared a way for their invasion of the kingdom. Liudolf replied, retorting the charge against Duke Henry: "It was against me that the Hungarians were hired; I confess I induced them to spare me and my subjects. If I am to blame, the whole people know that I did so only because the direst need urged me."

Archbishop Frederick asserted he had never committed any hostile act against the king; he had avoided him from fear of being falsely accused. The king demanded merely his promise under oath to support the restoration of peace and concord. The archbishop on this took the oath, and was received into favor. Conrad was already at the king's side. Frederick and Conrad urged Liudolf to make his peace with his father and king. But the poisonous calumnies of his uncle Henry had too deeply wounded and excited the passionate prince; he saw what power his uncle still had over his father, and he did not deem it prudent to submit to the sentence of the king while this brother and the second wife influenced him. In the night after the reconciliation of Conrad and Frederick with the king, he fled, darkling and in secret, from the diet, filled with anger and in spite of his friends, giving no ear to the advice of Conrad or the archbishop.

He was determined to continue the struggle; but the guilt of the continuation of the unnatural war between father and son lies heavy on the malicious uncle Henry. Liudolf took the direction of Ratisbon. The king followed with his army. Near the fortress of Horsadal, the present Market Rostall in Franconia, three leagues from Nürnberg, in the modern jurisdiction of Cadolzburg, the father and son fought a pitched battle till the approach of night ended the conflict. "A harder-stricken field had no man seen before; many slain there were on both sides, and still more wounded." Yet this battle was not decisive. The struggle soon raged around Ratisbon, which the king besieged. In the city was the Palgrave Arnulf, Liudolf's confederate, who remained firm, as Liudolf stood firm by him. Even the population of the city and a great portion of the Bavarians remained faithful to him; they were loyal to the son of their old tribal dukes, against the duke Henry whom the king had thrust on them.

The fortifications of Ratisbon were too strong for the siege-trains of the day; the archers on the walls did much damage to the royal army. After a siege of several weeks, famine began to press heavily on the city. The Palgrave Arnulf devised a stratagem to succor the city. A portion of the garrison was to make a sally from the Westgate on the royal camp; while the royalists were hand-to-hand with them, another portion of the garrison in the neighborhood of the Eastgate was to land and surprise the neglected camp. But the boats put off too soon, and the troops came too soon to the camp. The whole royal army was still there; all who did not at once reach the boats were cut down by the royalists or driven into the Danube. The cavalry from the Westgate, being too late, were also bloodily defeated, and at the

same time the Duke Henry succeeded in carrying off the cattle of the citizens, which were pasturing on the island between the Regen and the Danube. Hence the famine grew worse in the city, which had now been beleaguered for seven weeks.

Liudolf left the town to treat for terms of peace with his father. Unconditional submission was required. This Liudolf refused, and returned from the royal camp to the city to resume the conflict. A new sally from the Eastgate was hazarded. The Palgrave Arnulf and Liudolf were the leaders. They attacked the Markgrave Gero. The murderous combat endured from three o'clock in the afternoon till nine in the evening, and at night Liudolf retired unconquered. But the Palgrave was not with the returning troops. He was missing for two days. A poor woman whom hunger had driven from the city, and who was prowling on the battlefield, discovered his corpse among the dead. He lay, stript of his arms, shot through by an arrow.



When the woman bore the tidings to the city, they were heavy news to the besieged. They had now lost the most experienced soldier of their defenders. To relieve the fortress, Liudolf evacuated the new town, left only the necessary garrison in the old town, and marched with his men to the army which his friends had assembled on the Iller, on the borders of Swabia and Bavaria. Liudolf had, by the king's sentence, been deprived of his dukedom of Swabia, all his allies were outlawed, and therefore resolved for the worst. After Liudolf's departure, the king followed him. He gave up the hope of compelling Ratisbon to surrender. Duke Henry occupied the new town.

The royal army came up with Liudolf's near Illertissen above Ulm. One army was on this, the other on that side of the Iller. Here Liudolf was on sure ground—good old Swabian ground—and the stout men of this district stood by him. Loved for his personal qualities, he possessed in his wife Ida, the daughter of the Swabian duke

Hermann, other ties which bound to him the greater and lesser vassals, and the freemen, who were still numerous in this quarter. Like the Bavarians, the Swabians were faithful to the death. The next morning was to open the murderous strife between father and son.

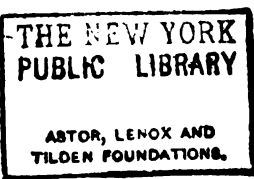
Then appeared two pious men, two Swabians, in Liudolf's camp—one a popular saint, Bishop Ulrich of Augsburg, the other a man esteemed by high and low, Bishop Heribert of Chur. They had gained already the father's heart for their mission as mediators of peace; they now came to win the son's. Liudolf listened to them; he declared himself ready for submission on the conditions which the intermediators brought. An armistice was agreed upon till the next diet to be held at Fritzlar, where the quarrel was to be peaceably arranged. Both armies retired without coming to blows.

It was now autumn; only in Bavaria did the revolt still flicker; for Berthold (Perchtolf), the son of the Palgrave slain at Regensburg, had not accepted the

armistice; otherwise all was peace in German territory, and King Otto had gone to Thuringia to enjoy the hunting there in the days of autumn. As the king one day follows the track of the deer, there is a rustling in the bushes, and barefoot, with streaming eyes, lay his son before his feet.

This was perhaps the work of Bruno, the good uncle, who had great influence on the youth. Here in the forest, the son met the father without the society of the stepmother and the evil Henry, and Otto, the man of momentary impulses, raised his son, embraced and kissed him with tears; the few attendants of the king, the rude soldiers, wept in company when they saw how the hearts of the father and the son had opened to each other. The son, to whom the father forgave everything, promised that he would acquiesce in whatever sentence the father pronounced.

Liudolf, whom Arnulf's death had left without an experienced supporter, thus followed the example of his brother-in-law Conrad; perhaps, too, a new recommendation of the aged Archbishop Frederick of Mainz, who was now lying sick,





OTTO I. AND HIS SON LUDOLF.

and died on the 24th of October, 954, soon after the reconciliation of the father and son.

In December, 954, the king held the diet, not at Fritzlar, but at Arnstadt in Thuringia. Here the long quarrel was ended by a formal sentence of the empire. Here, in presence of the assembly, Conrad and Liudolf solemnly declared their submission to the king, in the terms in which they had previously done so in private, and surrendered to the king Mainz, Breisach, and all the strong places which were still occupied by their soldiers, and which were not their own. The king did not, indeed, restore the dukedom of Lorraine to his son-in-law; he could not do so without depriving his brother Bruno of it, to whom it had been solemnly given; he could not do so, because Conrad's return to Lorraine would only have awakened new troubles and strife.

Nor did the king restore the dukedom of Swabia to his son Liudolf, from whom he had taken it during the struggle; nor did he invest either of them again with the other fiefs which he had taken from them and at once granted to his own followers, from whom he could not resume them without ingratitude. But the large private estates which Conrad and Liudolf possessed in Swabia and Franconia, with the title of duke, remained to the king's son-in-law and son. This was only a beginning; the dignity of the head of the kingdom and the peace of the kingdom demanded this atonement, which was light enough. The two deprived dukes had already, according to promise, a prospect of compensation. To Liudolf, the king promised, as a compensation for the dukedom of Swabia, the kingdom of Italy and the command of an army to deprive the faithless Berengar. That a no less brilliant compensation was held out to the son-in-law—perhaps a dukedom in the East March—is clear, and is proved by later events.

Conrad, the Archbishop Frederick, and Liudolf, had bargained for their friends when they made their peace with the king. They remained uninjured. Only Berthold, Arnulf's son, and his house lost the dignity of Palgrave, which was granted afterwards to the family of the counts of Chiemgau in Upper Bavaria, between the Inn and the Salza. All the private estates were left to the heirs; only the fiefs were taken from him and them. He himself was banished from the realm; he had not submitted to the king after Liudolf's reconciliation. The king regarded as the chief criminals the Palgrave Arnulf, who was dead, and his cousin Gerold, the archbishop of Salzburg. Gerold had to pay for all by the loss of his eyesight.

The dukedom of Lorraine remained with Bruno; Henry remained duke in Bavaria; the dukedom of Franconia was not filled up; the archbishopric of Mainz, the highest ecclesiastical position in Franconia and all Germany, was given by King Otto to his natural son William. The important dukedom of Swabia was bestowed on Burchard II., a stepson of the previous duke of the same name. This Burchard II. was an uncle of the Italian queen Adelaide.

Although this new duke was already in years, the king gave him a bride from the royal family. The king's niece Hedwig, still very young, but then as celebrated for

her beauty as she became famous for her talents and scientific pursuits, the daughter of his brother Duke Henry of Bavaria, was married to him with great splendor. There was a hope that the very wealthy Burchard would die childless, and that then all his property would fall to the royal family of Saxony; and this calculation was fulfilled. Bishop Ulrich of Augsburg, the accomplished diplomatist, the man of courage and experience in war, the truly noble Christian priest, the first of the Germans whom the court of Rome enrolled among the saints, was a nephew of the Swabian duke Burchard I., therefore a near connection of the new Swabian duke and bridegroom. Ulrich himself was of the old and wealthy house of the counts of Dillingen.

All the German princes were again united at this marriage-feast; only Liudolf, the king's son, was absent. His temper kept him aloof.

The king, however, was full of joy at this time, especially when Bishop Michael entertained him in the convent of St. Emeran at Ratisbon, when the old town had surrendered at the conclusion of peace. The king was of good cheer during the banquet. "Now," cried he, gayly, "we have eaten his bread, we will sing him a song and take one cup more in honor of St. Emeran!" "My belly is full," exclaimed one of the guests; "there's no room there for St. Emeran." The drunken trooper was leaning against the wall. The legend adds: "As soon as these words had died on the lips of this blasphemer, he fell, as though a hand had given him a blow, into the middle of the hall, and lay dead." King Otto, who saw herein not the natural effect of a rush of blood, but, according to the belief of his time, the working of a superhuman hand, left, in deepest emotion, the hall, hurried to the church, ordered all

the bells to ring, and knelt while the litany was sung. From Ratisbon he proceeded to Saxony.

At the beginning of the year 955, the Slaves in the northeast of the empire were in full tide of victory over Otto's generals, and supported by the ever-insurgent Counts Wichmann and Eckbert. While the Markgrave Gero was with the king in Bavaria, in the war with Liudolf and Arnulf, the Slaves had made great advances into his March. As soon as the season permitted, Otto commenced his pre-arranged campaign against the Slaves. On the march, a messenger from Henry met him. Henry sent word that the Hungarians had invaded Bavaria in unheard-of strength, and that he, the duke of Bavaria, was sick at Ratisbon.

The arrival in their homes of that Magyar horde which, in previous years, had ravaged Germany and Italy and carried off their booty in silver and gold, had excited in Hungary great desires for a similar plundering inroad. The chief of the Hungarians, Toxis, not trusting to the news of the returning adventurers, sent out some of his confidential followers, under the pretence of a friendly embassy to Otto, to spy out the situation of the German empire, the relations of the princes to the king, and the strength of the armies of both parties. Peace had not yet been established in Germany. It is very likely that the outlawed Berthold, the son of the Palgrave Arnulf, had gone to the Hungarians, and that he had, after the fashion of political exiles, taken a false view, and therefore made false representations of the opinions of Germany.

The Magyar envoys actually appeared at King Otto's head-quarters, in the form of an embassy to pay respect to the king of Germany, with a view to introducing friendly relations between the two powers. These ambassadors and their reports of the German empire agree well enough with the advent of Berthold—probably in their train—to the Hungarian camp. The reports of both decided Toxis. On the instant an Hungarian army was set in motion, and when, in the spring of 955, it advanced along both banks of the Danube, it seemed to the spectators as if the whole Hungarian nation had left their abodes to swallow up Germany. No one, they said, had ever during his life seen such an immense army, and the Hungarians themselves boasted that their horses would drink up the rivers and lakes, and trample the cities to ruins under their hoofs; nothing could conquer them, unless the earth open and swallow them up, or the heaven fall upon them.

The lowest computation makes their number more than one hundred thousand armed men. That Toxis was with the army, as the Germans assumed, is not proved, and is for many reasons improbable.

It is sad to learn that among the Hungarians afterwards taken prisoners, the Bavarian count Werner, a brother of Arnulf's, was recognized as one of the leaders of the Hungarians. That the high-chief of the Magyars was not with the army is argued by the fact that these Hungarian detachments attacked, in the guise of robbers, the East Marches of Germany and Bavaria—that is, the lands of those who, like Arnulf, in by-gone times, and Berthold, Werner, and others then, were either guests

or allies of the Hungarians, and ravaged more terribly than ever—plundering, murdering, burning. Never before had such cruelty been perpetrated. It was not an invasion of one kingdom by another. They were still, as before, only in greater force and number, robber bands under separate adventurers, to whom Toxis, the high-chief, had given permission to foray, and whom the king's brother Henry publicly styled "mercenaries of the rebellious family of the Palgrave Arnulf." This proves that it was not a war of the king of the Hungarians against the king of the Germans, as the German court regarded it.

The histories compiled by the German monks have, in this year, many gaps, and say nothing of important points, evidently because the story would be derogatory to King Otto, whom they sought to glorify. The histories say that the inroad of the Hungarians into Bavaria took place in the first months of the year 955, and that the entrance of King Otto into Swabian territory—for Augsburg then belonged to the duchy of Swabia—took place in the second week of August. Thus at least four months passed before the king of the Germans advanced from Saxony against the Hungarians, and during this long time—from the beginning of spring till the end of summer—the southeastern and a portion of the west districts of Germany were completely abandoned to the plundering Magyars. This gap in Otto's life German history has overlooked. What was he doing during this long time?

He had his hands full in Saxony. His delay of nearly five months proves that the revolt of his enemies in Saxony had much extended in the spring of 955, and that this revolt, with the Saxon nobles Wichmann and Eckbert at its head, was not merely connected with the uprising of the Wends, but likewise with the family of the Bavarian palgrave Arnulf and the inroad of the Hungarians. That the distress of King Otto in Saxony, from domestic opponents and the Slavonic princes Nako and Stoignef, was very great, is shown by the long absence of the king, in spite of the urgent appeals for help echoing from ravaged South Germany.

As on this occasion no German duke purchased the sparing of Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia, the Magyars remained in the South German territory, and lived at free quarters on the people. For the clerical and lay lords had taken refuge with their property in the strong places. The common people of Carinthia, Styria, and Carniola, who were subject to the duke of Bavaria, the people of Bavaria, Swabia, Franconia, excepting the inhabitants of the fortified places, were left abandoned without defence. For them, the German empire might have had no head, the German peoples might not have been a nation. King Otto's dreams of the splendor of the crown of Italy and the Roman empire, the Italian wife and her friend his brother Henry, who, at the approach of the Hungarians, had shut himself up in Ratisbon and reported himself sick, had brought Germany, south and north, to this pass. The long and cruel civil war had cost many lives, and the inhuman system practised with regard to the Slaves had likewise cost much blood. If the Hungarians had not appeared willing to stay in South Germany till they had eaten it up, their hordes could have overrun and plundered the whole German empire.

If the foresight of Conrad and Liudolf had not with difficulty got rid of previous Hungarian invasions, these countries of southeastern Germany would not have been now in a position to support even for a month the Hungarian army, man and horse, and the burden must have been transferred to the rest of the empire. For better support, the Hungarians had divided into three detachments as soon as they reached Bavaria proper. One corps remained in Bavaria; a second spread over adjacent Swabia, and had its head-quarters on the Lechfield near Augsburg; a third advanced into the heart of Saxony towards the Upper Rhine. The latter body was encamped between the lower Neckar and the Black Forest of Baden, when at last King Otto entered South Germany. These districts belonged, then as now, to the most wealthy and fertile parts of Germany.

The corps on the Lechfield seems, before it approached Augsburg, to have ravaged the rich regions of Upper Bavaria, Upper Swabia, and the Baden lake-circle, and had, probably, spread from Augsburg over the Ries and other districts of Franconia. The Lechfield is the name of the beautiful plain of ten leagues near the city of Augsburg towards Munich. The Lech flows through it, a tributary of the Danube which rises in the Vorarlberg and enters modern Bavaria from the Algauer Alp above Füssen.

The city of Augsburg and St. Ulrich did not check the course of the Magyars. Ulrich had bravely and skilfully defended the town, but only for a couple of days. Augsburg was then a small city, anything but "great and populous." It had been so in the time of the Romans, but it had not yet recovered from the devastation of the "Great Migrations." At the same time it was insufficiently fortified; it had only low walls, and not a single tower.

But long before the Hungarians drew nigh to his city, Bishop Ulrich had set the inhabitants to work to erect ramparts and towers, and prepare for a defence in case the enemy should attack the town. He had, in his youth, thirty years before, protected Augsburg from an assault of Hungarians. When the enemy came in sight, he now encouraged the inhabitants, and with a picked body of courageous soldiery undertook to conduct the defence. The women were ordered to assemble for prayer in the churches; all the little children in the town were collected and brought to the cathedral. He ordained processions of married and single women and children with crosses through the town; they were seen kneeling in the streets and beseeching Heaven for deliverance with sighs and tears. The bishop was present on the ramparts night and day; he occupied and guarded the dangerous posts. When the Hungarians attacked one of the gates, he arranged the defence within, and then made a sally with a band of brave soldiers. He was in episcopal dress in the thickest fight, and "no evil happened to him, although stones and darts rained all round." As a Hungarian leader fell in this attack, the enemies withdrew bearing off the body of the fallen leader with loud laments. This increased the confidence of the citizens. The attack had been only that of a division; so much the more was the attack of the whole body to be expected on the next day.

At daybreak the bishop fortifies his men with divine service and the holy com-

munion, and soon the Hungarians advance to the assault. They drive their prisoners up to the walls, and then they themselves rush on. The prisoners, who had been flogged on before them, fall; the heathen stormers are hurled down by the Christians; the retreating troops are violently urged forward again by their leaders, but in vain; the defence is as circumspect as brave. The spectacle elevates the courage of the besieged. A trumpet sounds, and suddenly the stormers withdraw and retire to their camp. It was afterwards reported that a message had come from Berthold to the Magyar head-quarters reporting the approach of the German king. In the night of the 8th and 9th of August the army of relief under Otto reached the territory of Augsburg. On this intelligence the Hungarians relinquished the siege of Augsburg, and lit fire-signals to recall their plundering bands.

Otto had been compelled to leave the greatest part of his Saxon troops in the north, and the army now with him in the south consisted chiefly of Bavarians, Franconians, Swabians, and Bohemians. The Lorrainers had not come up when he pitched his camp on the banks of the Lech. When, in the dawn of the 9th of August, he saw the swarms of enemies on the wide plain, he was awe-struck, and said that if God did not smite this unnumbered host, the human powers at his disposal could do nothing. Besides the fully-armed troops, the Hungarians had an immense train of camp-followers. In number, the German army was incomparably weaker. The king, on this account, wished to delay the pitched battle as long as possible. For if the army he had with him was beaten, he had no second one to replace it. Moreover, Conrad the Red and his Franconians from over the Rhine had not yet appeared.

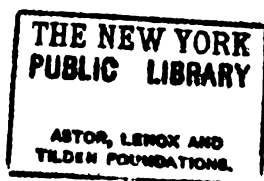
As this warrior came up in good time, and brought, in addition to his military skill and courage, a splendid body of cavalry, the spirits of the army rose. All the kingdom acknowledged Conrad as the first soldier of the day. Many expected from him prodigies of valor, because they believed that, if he were victorious, he would recover his dukedom. It is safe to assume that in case of victory a dukedom awaited him—not that of Lorraine, but of Franconia.

With the arrival of Conrad the opinion arose that the battle need not be longer delayed. It was decided in Otto's council of war to keep in the thickets and on the heights, in order to avoid the shower of the enemies' arrows; to advance with the greatest caution on the plain where the Hungarians were assembled. A general fast for the sins of the army was ordered, sacred relics were borne round the camp, and each soldier sanctified himself by the strictest propriety of conduct for the holy war. Bishop Ulrich came from Augsburg and joined the army with his fighting men. The king and the princes received the Holy Communion from his hands—a dedication to victory or death. All exchanged the kiss of peace, all vowed to forget previous quarrels and to be true to each other in the conflict. They must be ready, it was announced, for battle on the following day.

The king divided his army into eight divisions; the first, second, and third consisted of Bavarians, Carinthians, Styrians, and Carniolans. These formed the advance, because they were most versed in the Hungarian style of fighting. As Duke Henry

KING OTTO ON THE BATTLE-GROUND.





lay sick, Eberhard of Sempt and Ebersberg commanded in his stead. The fourth battalion consisted of Franconians from both sides of the Rhine, led by Conrad, their most renowned general. In the fifth battalion, the strongest in numbers, Otto stood surrounded by his bravest knights. This battalion was composed of picked men from the whole army, the Saxons forming only a small portion. Above it floated the banner with the figure of St. Michael the archangel. The sixth and seventh divisions were formed of Swabians, led by their new duke Burchard. The rear-guard, the eighth battalion, to which the wagon-train and baggage were confided, consisted of Bohemians, under their duke Boleslaw, a thousand chosen knights.

The 10th of August, the day of St. Lawrence, dawned. The Germans advanced on the Lechfield in the above order, marching with precaution by by-roads towards the woods and heights. But it turned out differently to what Otto's council of war had expected. When the Hungarians saw the Germans in motion, they ordered their van to avoid an engagement with the Bavarians, who were used to the Hungarian mode of fighting, and to cross the Lech with speed. This division with their swift horses ride round the German army, and fall with appalling cries on their rear; the Bohemians, the last battalion, too weak to oppose the enemy's force, are thrown into confusion and dispersed; the wagon-train with the baggage is taken by the Hungarians. Now the whole weight of the attack falls on the Swabians. They maintain their old reputation for courage, and although surprised on the march and in disorder, they continue the battle till help comes from the rest of the army. Conrad the Red hurries up with his Franks from across the Rhine, and throws himself on the enemy; the Franconians and Swabians press forward together; the Hungarians are beaten, the Bohemian prisoners released, the baggage retaken. The beaten Hungarians gallop back to their army, the victorious Germans draw themselves up again in battle array.

This prelude took place early in the morning. In Conrad's quick success over the Hungarians, King Otto saw a pledge that Heaven would send to him the victory over his enemies. Before the beginning of the general engagement, Otto delivered a short address to the leaders and captains assembled round him; he concluded with the words, "Let us die rather than be conquered and be slaves. Up, then, my brothers in arms; forward, in the name of God!" He then took his shield and the holy lance. This was one of the treasures of the empire; the point was, according to the belief of the time, forged from one of the nails of the cross of Christ; according to another legend, it was the same lance with which the side of Christ's body had been pierced; it had been sent by Constantine the Great to Italy, and passed from King Rudolf II. of Burgundy to the German king Henry.

Thus armed the king led his army against the foe. Feeling deeply what was at stake if the barbarians conquered, all hearts were inspired with a readiness to die for faith and fatherland.

Against this advance the van of the Hungarians made only a brief resistance; their ranks were torn and broken, but the centre and rear stood firm and fought furiously; their squadrons extended far over the Lechfield, and their savage cries were

heard all around. The struggle was fierce, the air was close; the Germans had to contend with the glow of the August sun, to which the sons of the steppes were more accustomed. In front of all the Germans Conrad the Red was conspicuous, alike as champion and as leader. He throws into disorder the Hungarian centre, and hurls the bands on each other. When once confusion arose in the enemy, their crowded masses were a hindrance to them. Pressing in through the gaps in their lines, the Germans shatter their centre, and when the Hungarian rear sees this rout, when the fugitives fall back upon them, they, too, are seized with terror, and leaving their brethren in the lurch, take to flight. This decides the battle. Thousands of the Hungarians are either slain or being slain; their bravest trample over the bodies of the fallen as they hurry away. Soon the whole Magyar army is in wild flight.

It was evening before the victory was gained. The swiftness of their horses bear the Hungarians beyond the pursuit of the heavy German cavalry. But now nature fights for the Germans against the Hungarians. Late storms had swollen the Lech so high that it flooded its banks, and thousands who plunged into its waters, at other times not deep, now found death in place of safety in its current as it roared like an Alpine torrent. Others stopped by the stream, and, compelled to alter the direction of their flight, also perish, especially the dispersed groups which were separated from the flying army in its retreat. To gain some repose for themselves and their horses, they occupied some deserted villages, where they were burnt by the previous inhabitants, who, like the Russians in 1812, set fire with their own hands to their houses and cottages. Many Hungarians, scattered over the country, met death or imprisonment at the hands of the garrisons of the cities.

There could be no pursuit by the conquerors in the battle of the Lechfield. They could beat the Hungarians in the battlefield, but not reach the flying army on its horses equalling the wind in speed. The legendary writers of the time, not content with what God had done by the powers of men and nature, believed, and wished to make others believe, that of all the Hungarian hosts present on the Lechfield, only seven returned to their homes. Even these had been taken prisoners like many others, but dismissed with cropped ears to tell their countrymen the victory of the Germans and the destruction of the Hungarian army. "The Hungarian people at home," so runs the story, "were enraged at the seven for not having died with their brethren. They took from them all their property, separated from them their wives and children; during life they had to beg from house to house; they were called in popular contempt Hungarlings, and lays of derision were sung about them. Their children and grandchildren, laden with the dishonor of their fathers, went singing for alms in the villages about, far into the next century."

This conclusion proves that the account was written a hundred years after the events. There may be some truth at bottom, not that only seven returned home, but that the nobles of pure Hungarian blood, the leaders in the battle, who had been either in the van or the rear, and shown themselves cowardly and disgraced, were pointed out among the thousands who returned.

The true report of contemporaries says that the people on the walls of Augsburg were struck with terror when, ignorant of the course of the flight, they saw the still immense army of the Hungarians rushing towards them as if driven by a tempest, and that their terror did not change to joy till they saw that their march was a flight past the town, and that the cavalry of the Germans was in pursuit.

The same report also tells that the German army did not commence its pursuit till the second and third day after the battle.

On the evening of the 10th of August, King Otto entered Augsburg. The victory was great; the whole camp and the whole booty of the Hungarians were in the hands of the conquerors; the German prisoners were free. Their liberation was the most precious result of the victory. They consisted of German matrons, maidens, and children—not mere soldiers. But many German heroes had fallen, and among them he to whom the victory was most due—Conrad the Red. As he undid the laces of his helmet to get a breath of fresh air in that hot August day, a hostile arrow struck him in the throat; he sank lifeless from his horse; the laurel of victory was his funeral wreath. The whole army, especially the Franconians and King Otto, mourned the gallant dead. Two counts of Dillingen, the brother and nephew of Bishop Ulrich, had died on the Lechfield the death of heroes for their fatherland and faith.

The heavy losses of the Germans, and the exhaustion of their immense exertions during the terrible day of battle—exertions almost superhuman—rendered immediate pursuit impossible. King Otto with his army followed the retreating enemies only as far as Ratisbon. He hastened to Saxony, where his presence and the forces he brought were needed against the rebels and the Slaves. He left further pursuit of the

Hungarians to the Bavarians, Swabians, and Bohemians, while the strong battalion of the Franconians accompanied him.

The fragments of the Hungarian army of the Lech had fallen back on their brethren who were still in Bavaria. The latter, in pretty good order, marched homewards through Bavaria. Duke Boleslaw and his Bohemians fell in with them. The Bohemians wished to have their share in the victory and booty, and seem to have led the pursuit. Boleslaw attacked the rear of the retreating force, evidently the remains of the army of the Lech, for he took prisoner its commander Lehel. Three Hungarian princes had commanded in the battle on the Lech—Bultzu, Lehel, and Ursu. Two of them—Bultzu and Ursu—had been taken prisoners, and by the king's orders sent to Duke Henry at Ratisbon. Thither also Duke Boleslaw sent the chief Lehel. The Bavarian count Werner, Arnulf's brother, who also had been made prisoner, was stabbed by Henry with his own hand as soon as he was brought into his presence—"the traitor who had brought in the Hungarians." Without the knowledge of the king, who had now gone to Saxony, Henry held a court-martial on the three Hungarian commanders as "soldiers in the pay of the insurgent Palgrave Arnulf," sentenced them to be hung, and hung them on three gibbets before the Eastgate of Ratisbon. The Hungarian detachment which had been in Bavaria reached its home with the fugitives from the Lechfield undisturbed by further pursuit.

Many fugitives from the Lechfield had escaped to the third detachment, which, under Botondu, lay near the Black Forest. It amounted to 40,000 well-armed men, and had suffered no loss. When Botondu heard the fate of his comrades, and at the same time that a great part of the German army was marching towards the Rhine, he concealed himself in the Black Forest. The Germans, seeing no enemy, careless from victory, convinced of the utter destruction of the Hungarians, were marching in loose order. They were suddenly surprised and surrounded. Their horses fell under the Hungarian arrows, many Franconians of the Rhine were slain, many taken prisoners.

The third Hungarian detachment thus avenged the disgrace of the first two. Botondu exchanged his prisoners for his countrymen in Ratisbon, and returned with honor to Hungary.

The warlike Hungarians henceforth turned their attention to the East, to the Greek empire. After seventeen years of plunder and battle, the Hungarians were exhausted, the martial spirits dead, and the survivors only remembered what they had seen in Germany and in the fertile countries of the Black Sea—the blessings of a settled abode for enjoyment of life. Even while their forays into the Greek empire continued, the majority of the Hungarians had abandoned their nomad life and built houses. In 972, Geysa, their new high-chief, who was married to a Christian, induced an assembly which he summoned of the chiefs of tribes and races, to resolve that henceforth "they cultivate the lands won on the Danube, and live with their neighbors in peace and friendship."

Geysa himself still sacrificed to the Slavonic gods; but to please his wife, and for

the numerous Christians in his territories, he also built churches—for Hungary was full of Christian slaves obtained by forays into Germany.

From this time forward not only peace but friendship existed between the chief of the Hungarians and the German king; the Christian faith was supported by Geysa, and Christianity had a base of operations in the numerous Christians in Hungary. From them it penetrated the Magyar hordes—slowly indeed, but in a natural course—and by this way more was done for its diffusion than by Bishops Piligrin of Passau and Adalbert of Prague, who undertook the conversion of the Magyars. After Geysa's death, his son Stephen, the son of a Christian mother, and brought up as a Christian, became in 997 the chief of the Hungarians; he took active means to make his people Christians, and gave the Church in Hungary a firm connection with Rome. For this he received a blessing from the Pope, and permission from Otto to adopt a regal crown. All the surroundings of this first king of Hungary were Christian and German, from the beginning of his reign till his death in 1038. Under their influence, sure in all cases of the support of the German court, he carried out the introduction of the Catholic faith among the motley tribes subject to his sway on the Middle Danube, and made it the state religion. In return, the Pope gave him the title of "Apostolic" king, and in after time placed him among the saints.

But the introduction of Christianity had the same results in Hungary which it had in the empires of the Franks and the Germans. The Church helped the over-lord to increase his power at the cost of old popular rights and liberty. The liberty indeed was only the liberty of a minority—that is, of the Magyars, the numerous military aristocracy.

Stephen aimed at making Hungary and the Hungarians into a state, and to create as a support for himself the estate of the people, and thus free himself from dependence on the aristocracy. The difference between "people" and "nobility" did not exist in the Hungarians; there were Magyar lords and non-Magyar serfs. To the latter belonged the Slaves who had been conquered by the Magyars in the lands on the Danube, and the German prisoners of war. After the model of the German kingdom, the "apostolic" King Stephen divided his kingdom into counties (comitats); the king appointed the counts, and thus broke the influence of the tribal chieftains. The influence of his Christian advisers is here indisputable. But it cost long and severe struggles, and the creation of a Hungarian people never came to anything. To further it, he and his German councillors demanded the immediate abolition of serfdom. But as a great part of the wealth of the Magyars consisted in serfs, this demand met with a general opposition from the nobility. The numerous grievances of the free nobles had already caused a struggle, but the chief contest was about this demand of the king. The king was compelled to withdraw it.

As a king with such arbitrary power had been imposed at the same time as Christianity on the Magyars, they put the former down to the account of the new religion; and when, after King Stephen's death, violent political storms shook the kingdom, the religious struggles recommenced, and heathenism made a violent effort to recover

its position on Hungarian soil. This attempt was put down with victorious force by the Christian crown; and the blessings of Christianity, although in a degenerate form, remained in Hungary as something which came to them from Germany, the country to which they had done so much evil, and thereby done good in producing the reconciliation of its discordant parties.

King Otto's brother, Duke Henry, did not long enjoy his restoration to his dukedom of Bavaria and the liberation of the country from the Magyars. Not quite three months after the battle on the Lechfield—soon, therefore, after he had stabbed, without examination or judicial sentence, the defenceless Count Werner, the nearest blood relation of his wife—he died on the 1st of November, 955.

His son Henry was four years old. King Otto promised his nephew the ducal dignity in Bavaria; his mother Jutta (Judith), the daughter of Duke Arnulf, was guardian and regent. With her was joined Bishop Abraham, who, by her influence at the court of her brother-in-law King Otto, had been raised to the see of Freisingen. Between the Queen Adelaide and Judith the most friendly relations existed, and Adelaide used all her influence at court in behalf of Judith. It was by her wish that Bishop Abraham, who had long been her chosen friend and councillor, was appointed a member of the regency. This prelate was such a confidential friend of the politic Judith, that he had to take a public oath on the Host over Judith's coffin in order to refute the evil reports current respecting his relations with the princess.

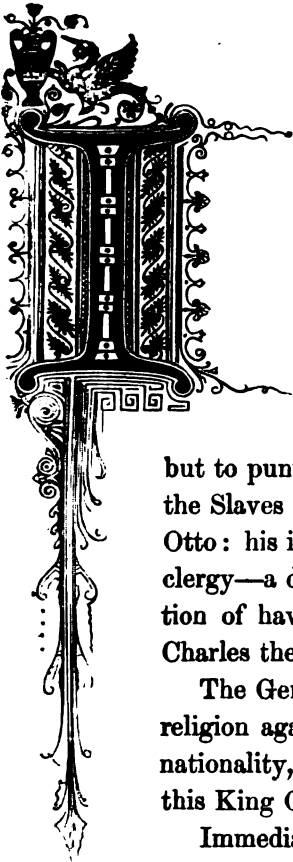
While this was the lot of the wicked Duke Henry, Liudolf his nephew, against whom he had sinned so often and so deeply, was by his father's side in Saxony fighting against the Slaves, and delighted his father by highly distinguishing himself in this war.

## CHAPTER XVI

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FIVE YEARS WAR AGAINST THE SLAVES—LIUDOLF'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST KING BERENGAR IN ITALY, AND HIS DEATH—OTTO'S SECOND EXPEDITION TO ROME—HIS CORONATION AS EMPEROR—HIS WARS IN ITALY—HIS RELATION TO THE PAPAL SEE—OTTO'S THIRD EXPEDITION TO ITALY—HIS PLANS FOR THE CONQUEST OF LOWER ITALY—MARRIAGE OF HIS SON OTTO II. WITH THE DAUGHTER OF THE GREEK EMPEROR—HIS DEATH ON GERMAN SOIL, AFTER A RESIDENCE OF SIX YEARS IN ITALY—HIS POLICY AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

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**T** is a token of the Christianity of the time that King Otto, in almost the same breath, publicly thanked God for the deliverance of the country and of the religion of the Germans from the danger of the Hungarian invasion, and hastened to subjugate the Slaves still more than they had been subjugated; he hastened, not to protect the German frontiers attacked by the Slaves, not to restore merely the condition previously existing between the German crown and the lately-subjugated portions of the Slavonic nation, but to punish them most bloodily without any regard to the provocations the Slaves had received, or to their offers of peace. Two reasons impelled Otto: his injured pride as king, and the fanaticism aroused in him by the clergy—a double fanaticism, of the heart and of vanity, the vain reputation of having brought into the pale of the Church as many people as Charles the Great had done.

The Germans had defended their nationality, their country, and their religion against the Hungarians. The Slaves were also defending their nationality, their country, and their religion against the Germans. But this King Otto could not see.

Immediately after his arrival in Saxony in all the glory of the conqueror of the Hungarians, ambassadors from the Slaves came to him. They brought an offer of further payments of annual tribute, but demanded in return to be masters of their own land. King Otto gave the harsh reply that they must first



atone for their wrongdoing; only on this condition could peace be granted. The Slavonic deputies took home this answer, and the people saw that King Otto had no wish to listen to their just complaints against his governor, and free them from his cruelly despotic rule, but was rather determined to continue the oppression of their faith and their freedom. They had therefore no prospect by way of peace, except that their previous yoke would be made still harder. They chose, therefore, the resistance of despair. For they were now without allies.

The Hungarians who had occupied the Germans in the southeast, and given the Slaves room to move in the northeast, were now lost as allies; they were left to themselves. They could no longer rely even on the rebellious grandees in Saxony. King Otto had sat in judgment on these rebels; Wichmann and Eckbert were declared enemies of the empire, but forgiveness was assured to all their confederates if they laid down their arms. Wichmann and Eckbert fled to France to Duke Hugh, and afterwards received pardon from the king. Their party all accepted the amnesty, and laid down their arms. The Slaves were thus isolated, in face of the full power of the German kingdom.

The history of the German nation and the history of Christianity arrive now at a point from which no favorable light falls on the king of the Germans and on the Christian priests of the time. It was still possible, if the Church and king had wished to treat the Slaves with the justice required by the religion of Christ, to reconcile the two nationalities by a peaceful convention, and to avoid the shedding of much blood, the waste of German as well as of Slavonic blood which flowed for hundreds of years in struggles between Germanism and Slavism, between Christianity and heathenism. This was possible if King Otto and the clergy had curbed their rapacity and ambition; but in him and them these two qualities were beyond measure. It would have been Christianlike for the Church to win the Slaves gradually to Christianity by the might of the Word and the gradual working of the material and moral advantages accruing from Christian civilization; it would have been Christianlike for the German king to be contented with the fair offers of the Slaves. But Otto did not do so; the priests did not do so. The Slaves of the north and northwest were not made Christians by the might of the Word; their conversion was the result of the sword, of bodily and mental tyranny, which set its foot on the necks and on the consciences of the Slaves, of royal and episcopal despotism, of Pachas like Gero, and of Romish priests and monks.

Otto, accompanied by his son Liudolf, threw himself with a large army on the Slaves who had long before evacuated the soil of Germany. He attacked them in their own lands, because they would not submit unconditionally. He came to put down their resistance.

After a series of battles in 955, in which Liudolf was successful, the king saw himself and his army suddenly surrounded by the Slaves as he was about to cross a stream named Raxa, which some regard as the Rethenitz, others as the Dosse. The latter is a small stream in the circles of East and West Prussia falling into the Havel.

The ground was unfavorable; marshes were all around; before the German army lay the river, a lake connecting with the river, and the numerous bands of Slaves; behind it the road was closed by an *abattis* made from the forest trees. In addition to the unfavorable position of the army, hunger and sickness came on. On the 16th of October, King Otto made preparations as though he would force the passage of the river. The Slaves drew together all their force to hinder him. In the meanwhile the Markgrave Gero found opportunity, unnoticed by the enemy, to march a German mile away from the camp, with a German detachment and an allied Slavonic tribe, and throw three bridges over the river.

As soon as this was successfully done, Gero sent word to the king; the army discontinued its feigned passage, and hastened to the spot where Gero stood. The Slaves followed the German army along the river by a longer road; their infantry became wearied, saw themselves suddenly attacked, fled and was cut down. The Slavonic horsemen, unaccustomed to the swampy ground, had, up to this period, remained on a hill, their prince Stoignef at their head. When the cavalry saw the flight of their infantry, they hastened to cover their retreat and then to follow them. The Germans took the camp of the Slaves. The Slaves felt this defeat, but they continued, without bending, their resistance for five years longer, fighting with the courage of despair for their faith and freedom.

King Otto was satisfied with the result of this first campaign. Other interests called him homewards, and his son Liudolf likewise.

The latter was anxious to deprive the faithless and tyrannical King Berengar II. of his kingdom of Italy—that is, of the Lombardy of those days; Otto was anxious to avenge the party who had joined him and on whom Berengar had taken cruel vengeance, and to give Upper Italy to Liudolf as a compensation for Swabia. For this purpose he sent Liudolf with some forces over the Alps in the year 956. The Burgundian party and many other spiritual and temporal nobles expected and received them with their soldiers. Liudolf succeeded in quickly taking the Marches of Verona and Aquileia, in advancing into Lombardy, beating Berengar, and in compelling his capital Pavia to surrender after a short resistance. Berengar and his son Adalbert took refuge in their mountain-castles. The plain country and almost all Lombardy was partly held for Liudolf, partly by him, and in 957 he gave Berengar a decisive defeat in a pitched battle. But soon after this victory the victor was attacked by a fever at Piombia in the district of Novara, and on the 6th of November, 957, his brief sickness ended with his death. Liudolf was not yet thirty years old when death stepped between him and the conquered throne of Upper Italy, just at the time when he was about to set himself thereon.

The suspicion that Liudolf was got out of the way by poison has no foundation in fact, although he may have been regarded with disfavor by Adelaide and others, and now, in his career of victory and in his high position in his father's favor, must have been as displeasing to her on one side, as on the other to King Berengar. For if Liudolf became king of Italy, Adelaide had no prospect of taking up her abode permanently

with King Otto in the warmly-loved land of her youth—the land she longed for, to which all her fancies and actions were directed. From Adelaide came the fantastic notion of Otto's, to transfer to Italy the centre of gravity of the empire.

This sudden death of his conqueror restored free action to King Berengar. Liudolf's soldiers—mostly Swabians, Rhine-Franconians, and Bavarians—had, from love of him, crossed the Alps and remained these two years in Italy. They wished to conquer, and they had conquered the crown of Lombardy for him, their darling, and for no one else; and when he was dead, they gave up all his conquests without waiting for any attack by Berengar, and hurried back to their homes. The leader whom

they had followed with devotion was no more, and they had fought for him alone, not for the Italian schemes of Otto and Queen Adelaide. Italy, after Liudolf's death, became indifferent to them; they took his corpse to bear to his native land. His trusty ones bore on their shoulders over the Alps the body of him they loved so well, and buried him in the church of St. Alban at Mainz.

The whole nation joined in their lamentations; for all had loved the high-spirited youth, and built great hopes on him. He was the image of his mother Edith; her simple, kindly soul lived on in him, and politically he was a friend to the people like his grandfather Henry I. It was not forgotten how loyal he was to his friends when his father once offered him his dukedom and more, if he would abandon them; from that time he possessed the esteem and admiration of all true Germans, and in particular the people looked for good times when he should come to the German throne.

King Otto was in the field against the Slaves when the news of Liudolf's death was brought. He wept bitterly over the loss of this son; he had buried in late years two of his sons by Adelaide, and the youngest son, Otto by name, alone remained; he had Liudolf's son educated in his company. This son of Liudolf had been born during the days of bitter conflict between the father and son, and he had named him Otto after the king to show that even in civil war his love for his father still was warm.

After the retreat of the German forces, King Berengar soon repossessed himself of the Lombardic country and of the Marches of Verona and Aquileia. Berengar was king in Upper Italy again, during an interval of four years, and used every effort to establish himself. But his measures increased the hatred of the nobility, especially of the princes of the Church. The German court was crowded with Italian fugitives, temporal and spiritual lords, who had crossed the Alps to escape Berengar's revenge, and who applied to the German king, as over-lord, to free Upper Italy from the cruel tyranny of Berengar. But however urgently these fugitives, who had Queen Adelaide as their spokeswoman, pressed the king to make a second expedition over the Alps, he did not undertake it. Four years and a half thus passed.

Why did King Otto delay? The answer is not far to seek. The deeper the hopes of the German people in Liudolf as their future king, the more must his sickness and early death, the result of his sojourn in Italy, have aroused and aggravated their national repugnance against any intervention of Germany in Italian affairs, and against Otto's foreign policy and un-German plans. The nation must have felt more strongly than ever what misery had been brought on the Germans by this crossing of the Alps—a wall of division erected by nature herself between the two nationalities.

The victorious German forces which had at once renounced all their Italian conquests and hurried homewards, could say nothing else than that it was the best for the Germans and the Romans to rule each independently their own side of the Alps; that, with the Italian hate of German rule, it was impossible to permanently establish it in Italy without monstrous sacrifices in blood and treasure—sacrifices so great on the side of the German people as to be out of all proportion with the glory which they could derive from the supremacy of their king over Italy. The closely-connected thought that Otto, to please his Italian wife, might leave Germany and take up his abode in conquered Italy—in Rome—might at the same time have alarmed the Germans as they regarded such an outcome of Liudolf's expedition into Italy.

This universal feeling in the nation must have made King Otto cautious in venturing an Italian expedition for some years; the majority at every diet would have voted against it. But quite apart from the public opinion of the nation, he himself must, as he stood by the coffin of Liudolf and reviewed the last ten years, have hesitated about renewing his Italian plans.

The wounds which his first expedition to Italy, his Italian marriage, his Italian policy, had caused to the empire, and especially to the people of Germany, were not yet healed. The results of his ambitious campaign had been civil war in its most

appalling form, frightful inroads by the Slaves and by the Hungarians into a land torn by parties and desolated by internal foes, and the danger for Otto of losing the German crown and seeing another elected as head of the empire. His successor on the throne would have been then one of his own house. But now his son-in-law of high talent, Conrad the Red, was dead, his son Liudolf was dead; his house rested on the two-year-old child of Adelaide. Moreover, there needed toil and time until South Germany rose again from the heap of ashes which the Hungarians and the civil war had reduced it to. To excite by a second Italian expedition the already hostile feeling of the German nation, was in the highest degree dangerous for King Otto and his youngest son. All this state of feeling must first pass away; much must first be done in the interior of the kingdom, to recover what had been neglected, to restore what had been injured, and to prepare for years for the project to which Adelaide urged, and he himself was predisposed, an expedition to Italy. If he reflected on the consequences of his former journey he would shrink from a new one as long as circumstances were as they were. For these reasons, the next years passed without any interference with Italian affairs.

It cannot have been the war with the Slaves which kept him back from Italy. This war was not waged with the whole power of the kingdom; it was a local war—only the neighboring Saxons were engaged in it, the Margrave Gero and Hermann the Billung had the chief command, and the king personally took little part in it. If it had been necessary to end this war before crossing the Alps, he could have raised greater levies, and put down the Slavonic revolt in the second year after the victory of the Lechfield.

Five years and a half had elapsed since the defeat of the Hungarians, when ambassadors from the Papal See came asking the aid of the German king. Italian princes and bishops came at the same time and united their prayers to those of the refugees at the German court. Now that an ally against Berengar was found in the Pope, now that so many princes, temporal and spiritual, offered a prospect of armed assistance, now that the Pope offered the Roman imperial crown, and as it was already a notion of Otto's to revive the Western empire, while Queen Adelaide desired nothing so much as to be again in Italy, King Otto could resist no longer. The watchword of the expedition was to be, as given by the Pope, the protection of the Church threatened by Berengar. It was announced to all the people of South Germany, by the clergy devoted to the Roman See, that the Holy Father had summoned King Otto to deliver the Mother of the Churches from the tyranny of Berengar; and it must have been a gratification to King Otto to hear the people at his court repeating his own thoughts—that it was the task of his life to represent in his person, as Charles the Great had done, the supreme power of Christendom.

The public opinion of Germany had now become favorable to the cry for help sent by the Papal See. It was not a time of believing thought, still less of thoughtful belief; it was a time prone to enthusiastic emotions, the more prone that Otto had done little for his own mental culture, almost nothing for the education of the people.

The faith of the times was great, but a blind faith approaching to superstition. When, in 940 and 942, a great mortality befell man and beast, and "comets with long tails of blood struck terror in the awful nights," there was a clear display of the nature of popular Christianity, and what a handle it offered to the crafty leaders of the clergy!—a spectacle recurring during the Middle Ages at all extraordinary occurrences of nature.

The Christianity of the Germans had become, not quite, but almost like the religion of the French and Italians—an external ecclesiasticism, whose leaders sought and knew how to terrify and guide the laity by representations of hell and the torments of hell. And far away over the Alps there was, for every German high or low, the Pope, the Holy Father, however unholy he might be; his vices were indeed known to the corrupt Romans, but even the enemies of the Pope were Italian enough to conceal the unholy deeds of the Pope and his court from the Germans beyond the Alps, whom they called, when speaking to each other, the "Barbarians."

The most unholy of all the Holy Fathers then occupied the Papal chair—Pope John XII. The noble Roman family of the counts of Tusculum had for half a century supplied the Papal See with Popes from their house. This family held the citadel of Rome which commanded the capital—the Castle of Sant' Angelo. Count Alberich of this family had made himself uncontrolled lord of Rome, under the title of "Prince and Senator of all the Romans." Four Popes created by him had no power in Rome—only spiritual functions. During his first visit to Italy, King Otto had asked Pope Agapetus II. to crown him Roman emperor; but Alberich forbade his creature on the Papal throne to perform the ceremony. Alberich would have no rival in Rome.

He died in 954, and the supreme power in Rome descended to Octavian, his son of eighteen years. Agapetus died in a year, and this youth at once made himself Pope. As temporal lord of Rome, he subscribed himself Octavian; when he performed clerical functions, he called himself John XII. In possession of spiritual and temporal power, he lived a life that shocked even the immoral Italians. As a mere temporal prince, he had prosecuted his amours with a shameless publicity; he continued to do so when Pope, and the Romans saw with astonishment their new and youthful Pope in full hunting costume riding out to hunt with his huntsmen and pack of hounds. These were mere trifles to what was laid to his charge.

The more this Pope trifled away the favor of the Romans—a favor inherited from his father—the more boldly did King Berengar attack the property of the Roman Church; he reduced the Pope to such straits that nothing remained to him but to adopt the opposite of his father's policy—a principle of which was to keep the German king as far as possible from Rome—and to call on the king for help with the piteous cry that the Church, oppressed and robbed by Berengar, must be rescued. What a Pope to speak to the Germans of the safety and distress of the Church and the faith! He hoped not merely to overthrow Berengar by means of the "barbarian king of the Barbarians" from beyond the Alps, but also to recover the Exarchate of Ravenna for Saint Peter.

Thus many various influences on both sides of the Alps urged Otto to a second campaign in Italy; and the expedition, promoted by the believing nobles and believing people, took place in the autumn of 964.

Before he left Germany, Otto arranged the affairs of the kingdom in two diets. He gave the government of Saxony to his brave and loyal Hermann the son of Billung, and, without doubt, in the first diet of the year 961, the Margrave Hermann was solemnly invested with the dukedom as Duke of Saxony.

The policy of the Saxon royal family had regarded the dukedom of Saxony as the foundation of their family influence, and therefore no separate duke of Saxony had hitherto existed; the king was not the titular, but the actual duke. Otto's longing for the imperial crown of Rome must have been great; Adelaide and her party and the foreign exiles must have powerfully stimulated this longing when King Otto became so infatuated as to give the foundation of the power of his house—the dukedom of Saxony—to a stranger, to a new princely house.

Gero retained his extended, almost ducal, power of Margrave in the conquered Slavonic districts, of Count in the neighboring Saxon counties. His power extended from the Unstrutt and Saale to the northern bend of the Elbe. He was Margrave in Swabia and North Thuringia, the centre of all warlike undertakings against the eastern Slaves; he was commander-in-chief against the Rhedarians; Havelburg and Brandenburg were in his March. But this old general was no longer the unyielding, energetic, violent man; he was broken and despondent, either from the death of his two gallant sons, Siegfried and Gero, whom he had lately lost, or from remorse for the evil he had done to his countrymen and to the Slaves, or from both.

The first diet was convoked in Bavaria; the second on the Rhine at Worms. Here he obtained the fulfilment of his wish; the assembly of the German kingdom elected his son Otto, the child of Adelaide, now in his sixth year, to be his successor on the German throne, and on Whitsunday the royal child was anointed by the three Rhenish archbishops. Otto then nominated his brother Bruno to be the royal lieutenant in Lorraine, and his natural son William, the archbishop of Mainz, to be royal lieutenant in the rest of Germany.

Secure of strong support from the opponents of Berengar in Italy, Otto for a second time crossed the Alps, and, in the autumn of 961, descended into the plains of Lombardy with a considerable army of his own, which many clerical and lay princes of the German kingdom brought in person to his standard. King Berengar waited for him with an Italian army of sixty thousand men. Berengar had employed the last four years, first in ridding himself of the hostile Italian nobles by imprisonment, death, or exile, and in seizing their possessions; secondly, in subduing the other spiritual and temporal grandees of Upper Italy, in order that he might meet the expected attack of the German king with the united forces of the whole country. But the violent means he had adopted for this end trenched deeply on the property and pride of these nobles and their families; and a more prudent ruler, especially if he were also a tyrant, would

not have reckoned on their loyalty in any critical moment. Events soon proved how insecure was his reliance on them.

From these injured nobles messengers from time to time had come to Saxony, asking for help against the oppressor Berengar. These must not be confounded with the Italian refugees in Germany. Berengar had now three parties opposed to him in Italy—the refugees, the disaffected nobles, the party of his son Adalbert, which was for the house of Berengar, but weary of the father's tyranny and hoping better things from the son. Now a fourth party stood forth in opposition—the Pope. No party whatever of the Italians was favorable to the rule of the Germans in or over Italy; no one wished to see them settled in the peninsula; each party wished to have the German king as a transient supporter of its ends and aims.

There is no need of telling what took place in Berengar's camp when Otto drew near. Otto's army had indeed been increased by some Italian contingents, but these additions did not reach the proportions which Otto was led to expect by his secret negotiations. A contemporary account states that the Italians in the camp of Berengar wished to decide the Italian question by themselves, without the Germans, and hoped to satisfy King Otto by the removal of Berengar. It seems, indeed, as if all the parties in Berengar's camp had, for the national interests, united in this attempt; for the assembled army sent to King Berengar II. a demand to abdicate in favor of his son Adalbert.

Berengar, in view of this opinion of the army, was for the moment inclined to abdicate; but his ambitious wife Willa prevented him. He rejected the demand, and as a result, his army disbanded. With those who did not leave him, a battle was not to be risked; nay, to escape capture by the Germans or his own Italians, Berengar fled with his followers to his fortified strongholds. Thus Otto, without a struggle, made a ceremonious entry with Queen Adelaide into the capital Pavia through the open gates. Berengar was declared deprived of the crown, and in the church of Monza, the suburb of Milan, which received Otto as joyfully as Pavia, the archbishop of Milan, Wolpert, in the presence of the bishops, dukes and marquesses of the country, placed on the head of the German king the crown of Lombardy. Otto kept Christmas in Pavia. Prudence demanded that Berengar and his party be pursued with the utmost military severity; but the king and queen, Otto as well as Adelaide, found nothing more urgent than to march with the army to Rome, and be crowned emperor and empress. Without any obstacle, he reached Rome and was received with great festivity by the Roman nobility and people. In the city itself he was welcomed in the Pope's name by young nobles in his service. They brought him a magnificent horse which the Pope sent to him; he mounted it, and they escorted him to the steps leading to the vestibule of St. Peter's. There sat the Pope in full pomp, surrounded right and left by cardinals and priests. Otto mounted the marble stair, and when he had arrived at the top, the Pope arose and gave him his lips and right hand to kiss. In the vestibule the Pope took the king's oath that he had come simply with a view to aid the city and Church. In the cathedral itself, which was brilliantly



adorned and illuminated, where altar was crowded on altar, Pope John XII. led the king to the high altar, above which shone a huge golden cross gleaming with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. Here the king knelt, and here he received the blessing of the Pope. On the Sunday next ensuing, the 2d of February, 962, King Otto was again solemnly conducted to the coronation ceremony in St. Peter's Church. The Pope anointed the king, and the king received from the Pope's hand the imperial crown and imperial sword. Adelaide was then anointed and crowned as empress. She and Otto were now in the enjoyment of their most ardent wishes.

In the midst of the magnificence and pomp of the Roman festivities, Otto had the feeling that he must be on his guard—that he could not wholly trust to the Pope and the Romans. Even as the procession was entering St. Peter's, Otto had given an order to his sword-bearer Ansfried, from which it was clear that he felt himself compelled to be on his guard. Immediately after the coronation, the Pope and all his high officers were compelled to take a solemn oath, and swear by the bones of St. Peter, that they would never form an alliance with Berengar II. and his son Adalbert against Otto.

The conditions under which the Pope consented to the imperial coronation of the German king are unknown. What the Roman court in later days has alleged in this respect is not genuine; they are documents fabricated long afterwards. It is certain that Otto claimed supremacy over all the territory belonging to the Papal See. He restored to the Church what Berengar and others had taken from it. The Pope, John XII., had flattered himself that the king would be satisfied as emperor with the imperial crown, and with the part of "Patron" of the Church and city of Rome. When he perceived that Otto had a mind to imitate Charles the Great, and claim as emperor all the powers which Charles the Great had possessed, he repented of having called the "Barbarians" to aid him.

The Pope had expected from Otto an extension of his power; but now, the man he had crowned and anointed behaved himself, since he became emperor, as the overlord of all Christendom, even of the Pope; as a ruler who claimed and exercised such power in the city, that John XII. was of no account either as temporal prince or Pope of Rome. We may assume that the proud Otto and the prouder Adelaide let the Pope and the Romans feel their power and imperial authority; nay, perhaps sought purposely to make the Pope conscious of it.

We must conclude from the oath which the emperor exacted from the Pope that different views with regard to the mutual position of the emperor and Pope had arisen, and John XII. had let the king get a glimpse at the background, that, if the emperor did not make concessions, the Pope and the Romans, as Italians, must adopt another than the German party, and that there was always a possibility of an understanding, if not with Berengar, yet with Adalbert. From the intrigues of the Papal See and the faithless character of John XII., it is very probable that the latter, as soon as the views and thoughts of Otto were visible to him, secretly prepared obstacles to the progress of the Germans in Italy, or even encouraged the opposition.

The error of Otto when, in place of continuing, without pause, the war against Berengar till his destruction was effected, he hurried, as if he had leisure for this purpose, to enjoy his coronation as emperor and its attendant festivities, now avenged itself bitterly on him and the Germans. In the interval wasted by the king and Adelaide in the empty pomp and splendor and rejoicings in Rome, the party of King Berengar had collected itself again; and the war which, if carried on without intermission and with the moral effect of the German success, could have been ended by the complete defeat of Berengar before the conclusion of the year 961, span itself out till the conclusion of the year 963, because Otto had given his opponent time enough to provide his strongholds with supplies for a year and with strong garrisons. The German army had to pay, with long, heavy sacrifices in treasure, in health, in blood, for the eagerness of Otto and Adelaide for the imperial coronation. When, at the end of February, 962, the *Emperor* Otto returned to Lombardy, he found a condition of affairs widely different from that left by *King* Otto. He had to contend against the sallies made from their strongholds by Berengar's party, against their flying columns which damaged the Germans severely; he had to besiege a series of fortresses and castles held by Berengar and his followers, who had all, in the interval, renewed or repaired their works.

Berengar and his family sat secure in Monte San Leone—a city strong by nature as well as by art—and laughed when Otto, who meanwhile had been crowned Emperor, besieged him. The place defended itself undauntedly; it was the chief stronghold of Berengar near Monte Feltro, in the Apennines. The siege, and therewith the war, became so protracted that Otto was compelled to summon new military forces from Germany; they were ordered to join his standard speedily; for delay, the loss of their fiefs was threatened.

Meanwhile a league between Pope John XII. and King Berengar had been formed; the Pope had even entered into an alliance with the Greek court of Constantinople, which still possessed a considerable portion of Lower Italy. Otto always intended to make himself lord of all Italy, and therefore of the districts which were still Byzantine. Hence the Pope and Berengar reckoned on the alliance of the Greek emperor. From what afterwards occurred, we may assume that it was Adalbert who commenced and concluded the arrangement between his father and John XII. He had hurried to Rome from Monte San Leone, or more probably he had continued the war in guerrilla fashion, and was the soul which held together and quickened his party. The tension between Otto and the Pope, and the Pope's discontent with the new emperor, must have stimulated Adalbert, as an Italian, to seek for an alliance with the discontented Italian John XII., to compose their private quarrels and join their forces against the German ruler, both as patriots and for their own private interests. John XII. had received Adalbert in the most friendly manner at Rome.

All this passed unknown by Otto, who was enjoying Upper Italy in Adelaide's society, while the Germans sat down before the castles of the party of Berengar in long, unsuccessful sieges. Berengar's plan is evident. He knew the length of time

during which the German vassals and soldiers had to serve in the field, the repugnance of the Germans to these Italian campaigns, the pernicious effect of the Italian climate and of southern enjoyments on the German troops, and he reckoned, therefore, on detaining the Germans before his strongholds, on destroying them by the labors of sieges, by climate, by excess and consequent sickness, and on prolonging the war without engagements till the Germans, of their own accord, crossed the Alps, or were driven from Italy by a "coalition," as we call it, by an armed alliance of various hostile powers. Even with the Magyars, the heathen enemies of the Church, the Holy Father now formed an alliance. He requested them to attack the unprotected frontiers of the German empire. Their inroad he hoped would draw the emperor from Italy back to Germany.

All this had been arranged by Berengar, Adalbert and the Pope, without the emperor, for a long time, having any suspicion, much less sure knowledge thereof. At last, in the July of 963, provoked by the undoubted perjury and breach of faith by the Pope, he left only the necessary troops in front of Monte San Leone, and marched with all the rest of his forces to Rome. To make himself sure of victory, he sought for reinforcements as he advanced, and for the support of the spiritual grandees. For this purpose, he promised them their liberation from the supremacy of the temporal grandees. It was autumn when the emperor appeared before Rome. Adalbert and the Pope prepared to defend the city. But public opinion was against them; they fled from Rome, and the citizens opened their gates to the emperor, who, on the 2d of November, 963, made his second entry into Rome.

He immediately demanded from the Romans hostages and a renewal of the oath of allegiance; he made them swear *never to elect or consecrate a Pope without the emperor's permission and confirmation.*

By this oath the city surrendered its previous right of filling the vacancy on the Papal chair. The Catholic writer Floss, in his book "The Papal Election under the Ottos," says "The emperor obtained a concession which the Carolingians had scarcely sought for to such an extent, and had never obtained." The appointment to the Papal chair was henceforth dependent on Otto's good pleasure exactly as the appointments to archbishoprics and bishoprics in his German and Italian territories.

This has been regarded as the highest point to which the imperial power of Otto rose; he had made the king of Germany and emperor of Rome to be what he ought to be—to be the temporal lord of the world, ordained by God himself; the representative of Christendom of all who, under one sceptre, professed the one faith, and who, though of different countries and nationalities, thus formed a permanent political unity.

This has been praised as a great idea of the Emperor Otto I., executed by him in his life-time. In fact, it was a delusion, a folly, not capable of prolonged life, an idea springing from lust of power and love of show. This delusion, in Otto's days, brought only misery to Christendom and Germany, and, in the days of his successors, brought, with transient advantages, nothing useful or beneficial. Otto, indeed, nominated several Popes; he kept them on the Papal chair, but only with difficulty—only by such

heavy sacrifices, such grievous disadvantages to the German empire, as were out of all proportion with the value of what he gained. He experienced very soon, and very keenly, that to maintain the right conceded to him from the Romans, was as impossible to him as to Charles the Great.

On the 6th of November, the emperor assembled the previously summoned bishops and abbots, in a synod in St. Peter's over which he himself presided. This synod was to constitute a formal court of justice to try the Pope. The emperor asked why the Pope was not present; the answer came from the midst of the assembly in heavy accusation against John XII. The clergy complained that the Pope practised simony, had consecrated a deacon in a stable, robbed churches, made the Lateran into a

brothel, had blinded his confessor, had castrated the cardinal-deacon John; that he used to ride out in hunting costume, and be seen in full armor, helmet on head and sword on thigh; that he had appointed and consecrated a boy of ten as bishop of Todi; that he had given to one of his numerous concubines several cities of the States of the Church; had taken from the treasury of St. Peter's the most beautiful of the sacred vessels and placed them on the table of this favorite; that he had ravished noble matrons and maidens; that foreign ladies dared no longer to visit the tomb of the Apostle, because, from the altar where they were praying he had carried off such ladies to his harem and abused them; that he was guilty of arson; that he had celebrated mass without partaking of the consecrated elements; that he generally neglected his early mass and his canonical hours; that he never signed himself with the sign of the blessed cross; that at a banquet he had drunk to the health of the

devil; and that, when gambling with dice, he had invoked Juno and Venus, as well as other heathen gods.

The synod resolved to summon the Pope to come to Rome and justify himself. The emperor added an assurance under oath that nothing should be done to the Pope contrary to the law of the Church.

John XII. did not come. He replied, "We have heard say that you intend to make another Pope. If you do so, I curse you before Almighty God, so that you can have no power either to consecrate any one or to say mass." He wrote in these terms to "all bishops." Upon this the emperor made his accusation against the Pope. He accused him of overt rebellion, and of violation of the oath which he had sworn on the bones of the Apostle, never to form any league against him with Berengar and Adalbert.

Pope John XII. was now found guilty by the synod of murder, blasphemy, perjury, every form of unchastity, and thereupon unanimously deposed. This proceeding, in such haste, was irregular. According to the views then entertained, and the usual practice, such a synod could not be summoned without the Pope's consent, nor could its transactions have any validity. Moreover, neither the forms nor the delays accorded by the common law to the accused were observed, much less the prescriptions of canon law in such cases. However guilty John XII. was, it would have been more befitting the emperor, the protector of the law, as well as more beneficial to him—it would have been more befitting the assembly of the Church to have judged and deposed, with a careful punctilious observance of all legal forms, this Pope a hundred times deserving of punishment.

In addition to the superior and inferior clergy, the temporal nobles of Rome and the Roman knights, the representatives of the people, took part in the synod. The Roman nobles and people had taken up arms against the Pope and seized the castle of St. Paul. The synod was conscious that its proceedings were uncanonical. The view entertained in it was, "that an extraordinary disease required an extraordinary cure; the crimes of Pope John XII. were too great; the well-being of all Christendom, imperilled by the profligacy of its head, was at stake. That monster, not redeemed from vice by a single virtue, must be thrust from the Holy Roman Church, and another must be elected in his place to give an example of godly life."

A new Pope was elected, the man desired by the emperor. He ascended the Papal chair under the name of Leo III.

The time of the German army's service in the field had expired in the case of many soldiers; but they would have remained longer by the emperor's request and wish. He, however, placed confidence in the Romans, and, to gain their favor, he was anxious that "the Roman people suffer no longer under the burden of such a large German army"; he therefore dismissed, in the November of this year, the majority of the Germans, as well as the contingents of Italians. He retained only one battalion of Germans in Rome.

This mistake arose from the excessive self-confidence of the new emperor, and from

want of understanding the state of Italy and the nature of the Romans. The deposed Pope had still a considerable party in Rome, composed of the companions of his pleasures and those Roman ladies who loved the gayeties of the Papal court. He had not taken much money with him in his flight, but he promised the treasures of St. Peter's and of the other churches to those who would surprise the emperor in the city and free the Papal See from an intruder. A conspiracy was soon organized in Rome, with the assigned object of murdering the emperor, the new Pope Leo he had created, and all the Germans in the city. The 3d of January, 964, was the day fixed for its execution. But the band of murderers employed by the conspirators consisted of cowardly fellows, and the few German soldiers who were suddenly surprised in their quarters drove back the assassins, stormed the barricades at Sant' Angelo, and, in the combat on the bridge over the Tiber, laid around them so stoutly that, as Liutprand writes, the traitors fled like a flock of small birds before a hawk. Not the Roman people, but only a part of the inhabitants in the great city, was implicated in this treacherous attempt. The emperor accepted the exculpations of the representatives of the city, but ordered the Romans to repeat the oath of allegiance.

He then quitted Rome on the 11th of January, 964, to destroy Adalbert and the Papal party outside the city. The emperor was everywhere successful. Monte San Leone was taken by the Germans, and King Berengar and his wife Willa made prisoners.

The emperor sent Berengar, his wife and two daughters to Bamberg in Germany ; they were kept there as prisoners till their death, which soon befell ; Berengar and Willa died, nearly together, in 966, the third year of their captivity. Their son Adalbert continued for a time a guerrilla war, and planned with John XII. a new conspiracy ; he then went to Corsica to the Saracens, who then possessed that island, and thence to Constantinople, for the purpose of inducing the Saracens and Greeks to take arms and drive the Germans from Italy.

While the emperor was establishing his power in Central Italy, John XII. succeeded in entering Rome, putting Pope Leo to flight, and reseating himself in the Papal chair. The Roman ladies corrupted the guards of the gates ; John XII. suddenly entered the town, held a synod consisting of his companions in St. Peter's, declared the election of Leo null and void, and pronounced sentence of excommunication against him and his followers. With Italian cruelty he took terrible vengeance on all who had joined in effecting his deposition, and whom he could lay hold of. He cut off the right hand of the cardinal-deacon John, and two fingers and the nose of the Chancellor Azzo, whose tongue also he pulled out ; he flogged through the streets the German bishop Odgar of Speiers. But his reign of revenge was brief. In February he had returned to Rome ; he was a corpse on the 14th of May. The Holy Father, after his old fashion, had given himself up to amorous intrigues ; one day "he went outside the walls of Rome by night to visit a beautiful lady ; he was caught in the act and so beaten that he died of his injuries eight days afterwards." Beaten by the devil said the people ; most probably by the disguised husband.

The national party in Rome now excited the population to attempt the recovery of their old right of filling up the vacancy in the Holy See. In place, therefore, of acknowledging Pope Leo, they elected a new Pope, Benedict V. The whole city did him homage. He was a worthy and learned man. The emperor advanced with speed to Rome, barred all the entrances to the city, and laid waste the country round. The Roman people defended their walls with unexampled courage and devotion. But the city was not supplied for a long siege; famine prevailed so that a bushel of bran was sold for the unheard-of price of thirty *denari*; in addition, a conflagration broke out, and the people, exhausted by hunger, sickness, and their struggles against the fire, were compelled to surrender in a few weeks. On the 23d of June, 964, the emperor entered Rome as its conqueror and lord. He assembled in the Lateran the dignitaries of the Church, and they, by his command, deposed the just elected Pope

from his dignity. Benedict V. knelt at the feet of the emperor and Pope Leo, acknowledged his presumption, and begged for grace. The emperor shed tears when he saw the dethroned Pontiff thus suing at his feet. He contented himself with exiling him from Italy. He died in the following year in Hamburg, on the 4th of July, 965.

In 965, the king prepared to return to Germany. He left in Italy Burchard II., Duke of Swabia, with a body of troops. He had been four full years uninterruptedly absent from Germany. He crossed the Alps homewards, proud of his triumph over the Romans and the Pope they had elected contrary to his imperial will; in his deluded pride he fancied that he had assured forever the victory of the emperor over the assumptions of the Pope. He entered his native country with all the satisfaction of a conqueror of the Italian nation and Papacy, as though he were actually a second Charles the Great, satiated with the fame and greatness he fancied he had won in Italy not only, he thought, for himself but also for the German people and empire.

In Swabia, in the unwalled town of Heimsheim, the emperor was welcomed by his

two sons, Otto, the child of ten years of age, and his half-brother, the Archbishop of Mainz. He was with them on the 2d of February in Worms, where his brother, Archbishop Bruno of Cologne, the clerical duke of Lorraine, met him. He kept Easter with great pomp in the old imperial palace of Ingelheim, the favorite residence of Charles the Great. This place was evidently chosen to remind the Germans of the new Charles the Great who, once more, represented in his person the German "Empire of Rome." He kept Whitsunday in Cologne. Here the family of the Saxon royal house were united in the archiepiscopal palace. His aged mother Matilda came to meet him and greet him as emperor; his two sisters Gerberga and Hedwig were also present. All her children and grandchildren surrounded the venerable Matilda. It was a reunion of an affectionate family sunning itself in the imperial glory; but there is not the slightest trace that the German people had any sympathy for the festivities of the new emperor. The emperor then proceeded to Saxony, drawn thither by a discovery which had been made during his absence. The silver mines of the Harz had been discovered by a hunter. As the emperor's love of pomp and power needed money, always a scarce article in Germany, he must have rejoiced over this discovery, and he hastened to encourage the mining operations in the newly-found silver-lodes.

The German people could not have had any sympathy for the imperial festivities of Otto. His Italian policy had cost Germany too much blood and treasure; there was still beyond the Alps a German army exposed to the Italian climate and Italian deceit and faithlessness, for the sake of maintaining what was of no sensible value to Germany, and was hateful and unendurable to the people of Italy—the sovereignty of the Germans on Italian soil. The news which came from Italy during the festivities were of a nature to compel the German nation to disapprove still more of Otto's policy. Their hope was that the sacrifices for maintaining Italy would at last cease once for all; that the emperor would begin to devote his energy and his care to the interior affairs of Germany and the welfare of his nation.

After the emperor's departure, the emperor's Pope, Leo III., was in a bad position in Rome. He was in the midst of a hostile population. Burchard and the German troops were in Upper Italy; he could not lean on them; but his distress was ended by his death in March, 965, the very time when Otto was celebrating in Germany his Italian success, and when in Italy the armed struggle had recommenced.

Burchard had plenty to do in Upper Italy. Soon after the emperor was beyond the Alps, Berengar's son Adalbert appeared in the country. The more powerful of the temporal nobility and some ecclesiastical princes declared for him—at their head the bishops of Piacenza and Modena, the latter a partisan of Otto and his archchancellor of Italy. But before Adalbert was able to collect a strong force under the national standard which he raised, the rapidity and energy of the duke of Swabia compelled him to take the field, and the engagement of the 25th of June, 965, put down the yet feeble revolt. Adalbert again fled abroad; the archchancellor was taken prisoner, deprived of his office, and banished from Italy and Germany.

Leo, the emperor's Pope, died in the spring of this year; Benedict, the Pope of



the Roman people, died in the summer. Neither of them was quite regularly elected. The emperor and the Romans took care that the new Pope, John XIII., was elected on the 1st of October, according to the forms prescribed by the laws and agreements. He was Bishop John of Narni, one of the chief accusers of John XII. The emperor signified beforehand to the Romans his assent to the election.

During the few last years the aristocratic party in Rome had found an opposition in a democratic party. This party was opposed to the noble families who not only, as vassals of the Papal chair, had the greater part of its possessions in their hands, but also, by occupying all the magistracies, had made themselves the representatives of the community. The new Pope determined to break, at all events in Rome, the power of the high nobility, which had hitherto kept the Pope dependent; he sought to lean on the people, and endeavored to raise the influence of the plebeians. He hoped to find support in the democratic element.

These noble families refused to be restrained either in their power or in their sources of wealth. They began to conspire. With Count Rolfred at their head, they attacked the Pope on the 16th of December, 965, and shut him up in the castle of Sant' Angelo, after shameful ill-usage. Afterwards the count took his prisoner to Campania, where he incarcerated him in a strong castle. The aristocratic party now ruled as des-

potically as ever; the democratic party was terrified. It was not "a revolt of the Romans," but a conspiracy of the noble families, who reckoned that King Otto, after four years of absence, would find plenty to detain him in Germany.

Otto could not, as quickly as he wished, restore his prestige in Rome by a third expedition. He found on his return to Germany many changes which touched him both as man and as emperor. His veteran commander against the Slaves, Gero, had, during the emperor's absence in Italy, retired into a convent, and died on the 20th of May, 963. His brother Bruno, his "lieutenant of the empire," died in Rheims on the 11th of October of the same year. He had gone to Rheims to arbitrate between his contending nephews in France, and died suddenly in his fortieth year. All his goods he gave to the poor. Bruno was not only a great statesman for that time, but a remarkable man. Subsequent events showed that his death was the greatest loss that could befall the emperor. The death of Gero, too, was a heavy loss. The more he experienced the fickleness and the faithlessness of those whom he had raised to high estate in Italy, the more precious was this man Gero whom he had raised from obscurity in Germany. He had in the darkest days remained steadfastly devoted to his royal master, and Otto had experience not only of his loyalty but of his military talents.

Thus the emperor had, at the same time, to reorganize Lorraine and the great March on the Slavonic frontier.

He determined not to leave Lorraine, after the death of its duke, his brother Archbishop Bruno, in one single hand. It was his conviction now that it would be better for the kingdom and the empire if one single hand did not hold such a great power over land and people as the dukes hitherto had held, and therefore he began, at the two first vacancies, to divide this power and distribute it among several hands.

Lorraine was formed into the duchies of Upper and Lower Lorraine; the former consisted of the land between the Rhine and Moselle as far as the Maas; the latter comprised the district named afterwards the duchy of Brabant, the land between the Rhine, the Maas, and the Scheldt. Even during the lifetime of the Archbishop and Duke Bruno, Count Frederick of Bar, a noble of Lorraine, married to Beatrix, the niece of Otto and Bruno, had been appointed a kind of representative of Bruno in Upper Lorraine. The king now gave to this nephew Frederick the dukedom of Upper Lorraine, which he governed with the title of Duke, as he had governed it with the title of Count under Duke Bruno. Lower Lorraine he annexed to the immediate possessions of the crown, and governed by a Palgrave or Count of the Palace.

In the northeast, too, he abolished the great Margraviate which he had confided to Gero. He saw no one around him in whom he had such confidence that he could, without anxiety, entrust such power to his hands. But his distrust produced a mistake; he divided Gero's margraviate into six parts and assigned them to six margraves. The northern counties of Gero's margraviate—the North March (North Saxony), or, as it was in after times named, the Altmark or Old March—he gave to the Margrave Dietrich; the central counties—the Ostmark proper (Lusatia) and the districts facing the Poles—he divided between the Margraves Hodo and Thietmar, a nephew of Gero; the southern counties—the old March of South Thuringia, along the Bohemian frontier towards the Bober—he parted among the three margraves Günther, Wigbert, and

Wigger, with their head-quarters at Merseberg, Zeitz, and Meissen. As a centre for all these temporal powers, the emperor appointed a spiritual power with its seat in Magdeburg, which was to be raised to an archbishopric.

Not till the autumn of 966 was Germany in such a condition that Otto could undertake his third expedition across the Alps, to establish his power in Northern and Central Italy, and reduce Rome to order.

At his first appearance in Lombardy, he overcame the grandees of Adalbert's party, and his arrival encouraged the democratic party to rise in arms against the noble families. John, the son of Crescentius, slew the count Rofred; in Rome itself the democratic leaders got the upper hand, set free Pope John XIII., and brought him back to Rome. He had been kept a prisoner for ten months in the Campanian castle; on the 12th of November, 966, he was solemnly restored to power. The counter revolution in Rome was complete before the emperor entered; he found the gates open when he came there for Christmas.

It was a bad time for the conquered aristocrats who had caused Pope John XIII. such sufferings. The emperor punished severely all the criminals of the nobility. It is an error to say, "twelve leaders from the lower classes" were executed because these victims included the *decurios*, the peculiarly popular magistrates. For these magistrates, these representatives of the commons, were members of the nobility which had caused the insurrection. Thirteen of the guiltiest of the nobles were flogged and then hanged; others flogged and beheaded or blinded, all after fearful preliminary tortures; others from the most illustrious of the noble families were taken to Germany and there kept in prison. The bitterest enemy of the Pope John XIII. had been Peter, the prefect of the city. The emperor delivered him to the Pope, who took cruel revenge on him.

The Emperor Otto now prepared for a long residence in Italy; Adelaide for a permanent one. His plan of making himself master of Lower Italy was favored by his good luck, which had so often made his great successes easy. Pandulf, the most powerful of the Lombard princes, the lord of Benevento and Capua, acknowledged the emperor as his over-lord by a treaty without any struggle; he received Benevento and Capua as a fief, and, in reward for his submission, was further endowed with the marquisates of Spoleto and Camerino. The emperor had cause to be thankful to Pandulf, in whom he obtained an experienced general, while Capua and Benevento formed an invaluable base for operations against the other Lombard princes of South Italy, and against the Italian possessions of the Greek emperor.

To win from the Greeks this region, the fairest of Italy, was no light task, especially considering the strength of the fortresses possessed there by the Greeks. Strong on the land side, these places could not be starved out, nor their garrisons reduced even by the longest siege, as long as they were not blockaded on the sea side. For this a fleet was necessary, which the Germans did not possess. Otto, therefore, sought to gain these districts by another way. He had previously thought of a family connection with the Grecian court, of a betrothal of his son Otto to Theo-

phano, the stepdaughter of Nicephorus Phocas, in order to give greater splendor to his own imperial dignity and to his son. Nicephorus was then involved in war with the Saracens, who ruled Sicily. Under the pretext of an alliance against these enemies of the Christian faith, Otto commenced negotiations with the court of Constantinople, and sued for the hand of Theophano. But he disclosed too soon his hope

of receiving the Greek possessions in Apulia and Calabria, either as the dowry of the emperor's daughter, or as the price of his armed alliance; and Nicephorus broke off the negotiations.

The emperor's son Otto had been born in 955, and was still a boy. Yet the emperor brought him to Rome in 967, in order to adorn him with the imperial diadem as his successor in the Roman empire and the lordship of Italy. He had easily obtained from the German princes the election of his son as his successor in the German kingdom; and he now still more easily obtained from the Pope, who owed him everything, the coronation of his son as future emperor. He was crowned and anointed on Christmas-day, 967.

After the breaking off of the negotiations, Otto made an attempt to conquer Apulia by force; and he laid siege to its capital Bari in March, 968. After a siege of a month, he perceived that Bari could not be taken without a fleet; he withdrew, and tried new negotiations with Constantinople. But the failure of his attempt on Bari placed his envoy to the Greek capital in a false position. The Emperor Nicephorus treated him with disdain. "Thy master has no ships. I alone have a fleet.

I can attack him, destroy his coast towns, and lay in ashes every dwelling-place on the rivers. Saxons, Swabians, Bavarians, Italians—all were with him. If they could not take the single little city of Bari, how will they be able to resist me?" Nicephorus not only rejected the family connection proposed by Otto, but renewed the old claims of the Greek empire to the whole of Italy, and demanded especially the liberation of Rome from Otto's rule.

On the return of his ambassadors in the beginning of the year 969, Otto opened the war against the Greeks in Lower Italy. Fortune was very changeable. At first Otto had the advantage; then Pandulf was captured by the Greeks; Otto lost his best warrior, and the Greeks had the advantage. But fortune again helped Otto. Nicephorus was dethroned and murdered; his successor set Pandulf at liberty, and offered to the Emperor Otto the hand of the fair Theophano for his son Otto II., and peace; but without the Greek possessions in Italy, which Otto had hoped to receive as a dowry. Hitherto Otto had no success in Lower Italy to boast of, unless the devastation of Apulia be so regarded. He therefore accepted the proposals of peace in the autumn of 970. A splendid embassy proceeded to Constantinople, and brought the Grecian princess to Rome in the spring of 972. On the 14th of April she was married to Otto II. by the Pope, in St. Peter's church, and crowned with the imperial diadem.

The bridegroom was in his seventeenth, the bride in her twelfth year. The Saxon royal family had deviated so far from the customs of their stout forefathers as to marry a couple of children and crown them with the imperial crown.

There was no exaggeration in the praises of the Byzantine courtiers or in the report of Liutprand, bishop of Cremona, and Otto's chief ambassador, respecting Theophano. She far surpassed in mental gifts and personal beauty the reputation which had preceded her. She was wondrously beautiful, this maiden of Byzantium; but by reason of her age and her Byzantine education, unfit to be a good wife for the German king—unfit to bear a good king for Germany or a powerful emperor for the Romans. Otto II., the son of Adelaide, was a degenerate scion of the Saxon Henry I.; Otto III., the child of Otto II. and Theophano, could be nothing but a degenerate scion of the Ottos.

In August, 972, a few months after the brilliant festivities of the marriage, Otto left Italy. He recognized the impossibility of driving the Greeks out of Apulia. He had not seen Germany for six years. Deducting a two-years interval spent in Germany, he had been a full decade in Italy. This precious time, in which so much could have been done, and should have been done for Germany—in which as good as nothing had been done—had been wasted in Italy on unattainable aims, on objects for which the German nation did not care, from which it got only disgrace and injury without any of the benefits, which the Providence who rules the world allowed the later generations of the German nation to reap from the hostile contact of Germany and Italy. The immediate conquests of Otto I. in Italy—what were they? The iron crown of Lombardy, the imperial crown of Rome, were mere titles which, in the eyes

*LAST MOMENTS OF QUEEN MATILDA.*

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of foreign nations, gave Otto and the German kingdom a splendor which for a time was dazzling. These crowns gave power only so long as a German king had a German force in Lombardy, a German and Lombard force in Rome. Only then, and only so long, was he lord of these Italian countries and in the enjoyment of their revenues. They came in slowly or not at all, as soon as the German emperor and army were away. His long wars in Lower Italy, his sacrifices and labors, had brought nothing but the submission of the princes of Benevento and Capua. The only real things which he carried home to Germany, were relics as presents for the German churches and his beauteous daughter-in-law from Constantinople.

The Germans were practical in thought and feeling. They could have no pleasure in his giving his son a bride, not from the noble ladies of his native country, but from the border land of Asia and Europe; they could have still less pleasure when they saw that the spouse of the future king and emperor was a child of twelve years of age.

They had been displeased at his third expedition to Italy; even his mother Matilda had been displeased. Her son's chase after pomp and splendor was repugnant to the noble wife of King Henry, so grand in his simplicity. Matilda's heart was deeply affected when she took leave of her son Otto in Nordhausen, a favorite residence of herself and Henry, as he was setting out the third time for Rome. "Go in peace," she said, weeping; "thou wilt never see my face in the flesh again." A year after he had crossed the Alps in search of new splendors, she felt the approach of death; she ordered herself to be laid on a rude coverlet, and she strewed her head with ashes. "A Christian must die in dust and ashes." The 14th of March, 968, was the day of her death. A magnificent present from her daughter Gerberga, a coverlet embroidered with gold, came in time to be her winding-sheet. She was buried in Quedlinburg by the side of King Henry.

When her son, five years later, returned home, he hastened through South Germany, which had no sympathy for his glory or his house, to his native Saxony. From Magdeburg, where his first wife reposed, he went to Quedlinburg. Here, at the grave of his parents, he kept the Easter of 973 in great state, surrounded by German princes and counts, bishops and abbots, by his two Slavonic feudatories Miec̋zislav of Poland and Boleslaw II. of Bohemia, and by the foreign ambassadors. There were ambassadors from Rome and Benevento, from the Greek empire and from Bulgaria, from the Slavonic races and from the Danes; even twelve envoys of the Hungarians were present with their gifts. The honest face of his loyal servant Hermann the Billung, who had kept Saxony at peace, perhaps gave him most pleasure. Did the emperor, elated with good fortune and apparent success, in the midst of the pomp and splendor and acclamation of the feast, have any foreboding that the submission of the foreigners now present, either in person or by their ambassadors, and of many of his German lords, spiritual and temporal, was but an empty show?

From the festivities of Quedlinburg he proceeded to Memleben. In this palace his stout father, King Henry, had been seized by death. Here an embassy from



the Saracen princes of Africa appeared before the Emperor Otto, the son of Henry. The dazzling gleam of the far-shining splendor of his empire delighted him in this African homage. But it was the last draught from the cup of his fancied grandeur.

A dark shadow was thrown over the festivities of Quedlinburg by death, which took away suddenly in Easterweek the loyalest of the loyal, his friend Hermann the son of Billung. On the 6th of May, the Tuesday before Whitsuntide, the emperor felt unwell; the next morning he went twice to mass, distributed alms among the poor, took some repose, came at the usual hour to table, rose to go to prayers in the chapel, but sank down in the dining-hall. The princes started from their seats and bore him to his couch. It was an apoplectic seizure. The communion was administered to him, and he died the 7th of May, 973, and was buried by the side of Edith, in the Church of St. Maurice in Magdeburg.

Otto had lived sixty-one years and reigned thirty-seven, having worn the imperial crown eleven years. The Italian bishops and historians of the German party, and flattering courtiers who followed their example, gave him while alive the title of "Great."

He deserved the gratitude of the clergy; he had enriched them; he had made the princes of the church temporal lords with wide-extending powers. The love of the people he never possessed—neither of the Italian nor the German, nor even of the Saxon people. How high does Charles the really Great tower up in history through his extraordinary efforts to promote his people's welfare in body and soul, by means of his various laws, regulations and arrangements, by his expenditure, defrayed by the economies of his court and household, for the education of the people by attracting to him scholars from all quarters, and for the promotion of the material well-being of all within the realm. Otto I. did not like to have "scientific" men about him; he had received no education—he began to learn to write in his thirty-fifth year, and did not

make much progress. Throughout his life, although his wife was an Italian, he never spoke publicly to the Italians except by an interpreter.

Germany would have remained, morally and materially, neglected under Otto I., had it not been for his brother Bruno, whose high talents were as great as they were precocious. All progress during Otto's reign is demonstrably Bruno's work. The reorganization of the educational institutions, of the imperial chancery, of the school of the court founded by Charles the Great, and of the convent schools of the same date, was the work of Bruno. It was Bruno who removed from the chancery the officials inexperienced in business, and remoulded it; he restored the school of the court principally by his own personal exertions—he, the king's brother, the busy chancellor of the empire, being personally active as a teacher—as well as by calling to positions in it learned men from all parts of the empire. He invited from Italy men of talent and learning. He founded new educational institutions in the duchy of Lorraine. The great establishments of learning which had bloomed in early times, but had been checked in their development, the schools of St. Gall, Reichenau, Fulda, Hersfeld, Corvey and other famous convent schools, were revived by his quickening energy. Especially in the imperial chancery and the school of the court, he and his fellow-laborers were busy in forming future statesmen for the German empire. Even in the school of the court, it was chiefly clergymen who were educated with this view; Otto I. and his successors administered the affairs of the empire mostly by bishops, universally by clergymen as their confidential ministers. Otto's chancery was full of clergy; his privy councillors were princes of the Church.

We can see from the writings of the time, especially from those of Ratherius, who died in 974 bishop of Liege, that then the majority of the bishops was in no way what it ought to have been. This German bishop, who occupied a prominent position under Otto I., holds up to the clergy of his day, in particular to the noble-born clergy, a mirror which exhibits them as degenerate. They did not respond to the needs of the day, nor even the requirements of the old church. And therefore Bruno's merits are the higher that he succeeded by his own exertions and zeal in providing the successors of Otto I. with bishops and others capable of being teachers of the people and councillors of princes.

From the institutions which Bruno, in the spirit of Charles the Great, restored and revived, there came forth many who distinguished themselves as teachers of the people and as men of business in the management of the state. Like the later universities, these institutions for a long period sent out bishops far superior in learning to their predecessors, and statesmen who knew what culture meant. No one knew better than Bruno that what he planted with foresight and care, after his death good fruit would bear.

The elevation of the bishops to temporal lords superior to the lay lords was desired by Otto for selfish interests, and carried out by Bruno for national ends. The spiritual princes surrounded themselves with more brilliant households than the most of the temporal lords affected; the expense thus caused induced many of them to encourage

the cultivation of their territories, by tilling waste lands, clearing superfluous forests into fertile fields, draining the fens and swamps. The condition of those who were either villeins or serfs of the crozier was thus decidedly improved. In many other ways the bishops and abbots deserved well for promoting agriculture in their territories. The bishop so favored by Otto must have a residence; not a mere walled house, but something respectable. Soon the struggle to equal or surpass the temporal princes led the spiritual princes to fortify the places in which they resided, and thus make them into cities. Around their episcopal palaces industry and trade flourished; it was for the interest of these clerical lords to obtain the right of holding markets for their episcopal cities, and other places which they walled and raised to the rank of cities.

We cannot affirm that all the archbishops and bishops intended, by these means, to ameliorate the lot of the people they governed; but it is a fact that it was thus ameliorated, and we cannot say as much of the temporal lords, neither of the emperor nor of his temporal feudatories. The latter did not possess any knowledge of what we call political economy—a knowledge possessed by the clergy educated in the higher schools; and Otto I. and his successors thought of anything rather than the material welfare of the German nation and German interests. They thought only of their personal splendor, and the splendor reflected on the German nation from their splendor.

It is remarkable that, while the Saxon emperors Otto I., Otto II., and Otto III. did nothing to promote the well-being of the nation, the discovery of silver in the Harz, on the Rammelsburg near Goslar, was not the work of any miners introduced into the country by Otto, but of a horse, which, while his master, a royal forester from Franconia, was occupied in hunting, became impatient at being hitched to a tree, and pawed up some silver ore. The Franconian noble, acquainted with the mining operations in his own country, induced Otto to bring miners from the Fichtel mountains to Goslar, to open shafts in the Harz and instruct the Saxons in smelting the ore.

Otto I. not only did nothing for the material prosperity of Germany by his grasping for power and splendor, but by his fickleness he deprived it of the ways and means of becoming prosperous. He was very near, after the abolition of the tribal dukedoms, to forming a strong monarchy and a united Germany. But instead of carrying this project through, he appointed a duke of Saxony, thus giving to another family the surest foundation of his own royal house, and creating a new princely house which soon became lord of North Germany, and almost independent. In Lorraine he founded two ducal houses. By dividing Gero's dominions in North Germany into six margraviates, and by appointing palgraves in the remaining duchies alongside the dukes, he increased the very power which most crippled the crown—the number of princely houses. These new princes henceforth followed the interests of their families and their class; and the more they grew, the more they troubled the head of the empire.

Otto's notion, that the danger of this increase in the temporal grandees was obvi-

ated by transferring to the spiritual grandees much temporal power and the functions of the counts, soon proved a delusion. The German bishops were in most cases of high, noble families, therefore aristocrats; and if it came to a conflict between the King and the Pope, or even between the crown and the claims of the clergy, these bishops, whom Otto had enriched with lands and privileges, showed themselves as priests by the side of their own order, not as officials dependent on the crown.

The Emperor Otto was the cause why the German monarchy had not, in the coming struggle with the Papacy, the strength which it ought to have had; he had weakened this strength by his grants of power to men who "served two masters," on whom their spiritual master had more influence than their temporal master. The Pope thus obtained, in addition to the power exercised by the priests over the conscience, an armed power of dangerous strength in the bishops and abbots whom Otto had made territorial magnates; the spiritual princes became gradually the deciding power in Germany, and masters of the crown, with which they trifled long enough to the injury of the nation.

By increasing the power and number of the temporal princes, by creating the sovereignty of the spiritual princes, Otto founded in Germany such an aristocracy as existed in no other state of Europe. From henceforth no head of the empire could make himself master of this double aristocracy, which naturally waxed stronger and stronger.

This was the cause why the German nation remained far behind, in education, in material prosperity, in political progress, in fusion of various tribes into an actual

nation ; far behind England, behind France, behind Italy. For this polyarchy, so richly endowed by Otto, checked, what is the condition of all progress intellectual or political, the freedom of the people. On the contrary, the still remaining freemen lost their freedom, and those who were from the first unfree, or had shortly before become unfree, were kept as slaves and pressed still deeper down by newly-imposed burdens. The government of the Ottos neglected the duty alike of the king and the emperor—the duty of protecting the lower classes in their rights against the violence of the lords, not to say of extending these rights. Melancholy experience taught the monarch that the highly-favored princes of the Church, as well as the temporal grandees on which the Ottos wished to build their throne, were unreliable supports. Not till he had learnt this did the king from necessity attempt to gain a counterpoise to the preponderating aristocracy, by placing his reliance on the lower classes, and by seeking to extend, or at all events to restore, the rights of the people.





DRUID T. & C. E. E. E. E.





## CHAPTER XVII.

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THE THREE LAST EMPERORS OF THE SAXON HOUSE, OTTO II., OTTO III., AND HENRY II.—CONTINUATION OF THEIR ROMANTIC POLICY, AND THE DOWN-FALL OF THE SAXON HOUSE.

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OTTO II. had been elected king, when a child, by the German princes, and had been crowned emperor, when a boy, by the Pope, yet—such was the state of affairs in Germany—he deemed it necessary to administer the oath of allegiance afresh on the day of his father's death. He was not yet eighteen years old when he succeeded his father on the throne; and Germany again, as in the first years of his father's reign, threatened to become the theatre of a domestic war among the royal family, and of all the confusions of civil strife. Why did Otto fear, and fear justly, that a rival from his own family might deprive him of his crown? On the one hand, because he felt that he had even less than his father any root in the love of the German nation; on the other hand, because such a rival was at hand.

Otto II., named from his high color Otto the Red, was almost a stranger to the Saxons, not to mention the Franconians, Bavarians, and Swabians, by his character and the influences under which he stood. His early election as king, his early coronation as emperor, had unfavorably affected him; he became haughtier than his father, whose conceit at his position was excessive. Greedy of honor, lusting for power, he had always dreamed of an empire beyond the Alps, where he had passed a large portion of his boyhood and youth. His own romantic and imaginative nature, and the education given by his mother, his wife, his teachers, fostered these fancies. His mother had taken care that he received a learned education, but by Italian teachers.

In culture and refinement, he was far above his father; but his education, especially as he had spent the six years preceding his accession in Italy, made him strange and disinclined to German fashions and customs. It was a fatal thing for him and for Germany that he had spent in Italy the very years which mould the character of

a man, and fix his preferences and his aversions. He was an Italian rather than a German; at least the German element was subordinate to the Italian. Adelaide, the Provençale, who had passed in Italy her youthful years, who later had caused Otto I. to neglect Germany for Italy, and Theophano, the Byzantine Greek, with their two-fold influences, were no advantage to Germany and him; particularly as he, the stripling emperor and king, was deficient in strength and independence to resist the influences of such a mother and such a wife.

For some years after his marriage and his accession to the throne, Otto II. remained under the dominion of his mother Adelaide; in the summer of 976 he styled her "co-regent." Next he came under the dominion of his wife. Although Theophano was but a child according to German notions, her gifts of mind as well as her charms of person came early to bloom. She had means of attaining, only too soon, full rule over her young husband. Together with her wondrous beauty, she had at her command the charms of her refined education and her bright spirit, united with great strength of will. She was more a man than her husband. She was intriguing, haughty, luxurious, *dévoté*, the daughter of an intriguing and infamous mother. Bred at the court of Byzantium, amid moral profligacy of every kind, she had adopted a style displeasing to the still unsophisticated Saxons, especially as she seduced her young husband into her mode of life. The kindly disposition of the Germans would have overlooked her foreign manners, if she had not displayed her contempt for the Germans as "rude barbarians." This hurt the pride of the Saxons, who at first, elated by the splendor of the marriage of a Saxon with a daughter of the Eastern emperor, had not shared the dissatisfaction at the union felt by the South Germans.

Thus from the beginning of his reign, the heart of the German people was not predisposed in favor of Otto II. He had against him a strong party of the princes under his nearest relatives. The first danger threatened him from the same quarter whence so many obstacles had been caused to his father—from Bavaria, from the widow of his uncle Duke Henry, and from his son Henry II., who had long been of age, but entirely under the sway of the two persons who had hitherto governed Bavaria—his mother, the politic Judith (Jutta), and her confidential friend Bishop Abraham of Freisingen. She had not forgotten that the watchword of her house—the house of Arnulf the Bad—had been, Bavaria independent either as dukedom or as kingdom. Her brother-in-law Otto I. and his wife Adelaide had allowed her to rule with unlimited power, as guardian and regent for her son, during sixteen years, the country of Bavaria, which, to gratify her husband and herself, had been raised to be the first German dukedom in extent and power; she wished it so to pass to her son.

When Otto I. had made Bavaria so great, the Saxon royal family still had Saxony as its support. But when Saxony had been given by Otto I. to the Billungs, it came to pass that the younger line of the Saxon house, settled in Bavaria, far surpassed the older Saxon line, which possessed the royal and imperial crown, in territory and material resources; especially as Judith's daughter, the learned Hedwig, governed her old husband Burchard II., and really carried on the government in the powerful

duchy of Swabia. The elevation, by Judith's intrigues, of Henry, her sister's son, to the episcopal see of Augsburg, further strengthened the power of this line.

The emperor Otto and his advisers, therefore, employed the first opportunity to lessen the power of Bavaria—a power dangerous to the royal authority and to the strength of the German empire, particularly as both prince and people in Bavaria never ceased their exertions to become independent of the empire and to follow a Bavarian policy.

The opportunity soon presented itself. Duke Burchard died childless on the 12th of November, 973. Judith and her whole house expected that the imperial cousin Otto II. would allow his kinswoman Hedwig to be heiress of the dukedom of Swabia, and transfer it with her hand to a second husband. The emperor, however, allowed her to take only the great private estates of her deceased husband, which no one could claim, with the exceptions of the advowsons of the convents which he had had. This was the first sign of disfavor. Hedwig, enraged, sat in her rocky stronghold of Hohentwiel, and read the ancient poets with her preceptor, the monk Eckehard of St. Gall. The temper of the charming young widow was not always of the best; in one of her bad humors she had her teacher flogged, and only refrained at his urgent prayers from shaving his head completely. She could not bear the thought that she must cease to be the governor of Swabia, and must see another on the ducal throne. This new occupant was Otto, the son of Liudolf, the half-brother of Otto II. The imperial uncle and the nephew had been educated together, and there existed between them a friendship lasting till death.

Friendship suggested and policy justified the action of the young king in giving to his nephew such an important dukedom as Swabia. But the ducal family of Bavaria never remembered how grievously Duke Henry I. had sinned against Liudolf—never thought that the restoration of the dukedom of Swabia to Liudolf's son, this gift by a friend to a friend, was in some sense an expiation for the guilt of Henry and Adelaide. As though the hatred in this line of the Saxon house were eternal, it now flamed out against Duke Otto, as it had against his father Liudolf, and directed itself even against the young emperor.

Judith the mother and Hedwig the sister stirred up the duke of Bavaria Henry II.; while Bishop Abraham, Judith's friend and the young duke's minister, represented to the youthful duke of twenty-one years that he was the oldest descendant of Henry I., and therefore had a better right to the crown of Germany than his cousin, the elected, crowned, anointed emperor Otto II. The Bavarians stood by him; his brother-in-law Boleslaw, duke of Bohemia, Miecizlaw, the duke of Poland, would join, if he undertook the task, in making good his claim to the German throne by the overthrow of Otto II.

These evil seeds fell on a suitable ground; Duke Henry II. felt himself prejudiced by the favor which the emperor showed to the house of Babenburg. This house had sprung up afresh from that Adalbert whom his mother had saved from the bloody downfall of the house in 906, and sent to Otto duke of Saxony; and it had now

recovered a portion of its possessions. As the authority of a duke of Bavaria extended, at that time, over those districts of Franconia which lie between the Spessart, the Thuringian Forest, and the Bohemian Forest, the restored possessions of the once wealthy house of Babenberg were within the dominions of Duke Henry II. The two brothers of Babenberg, the Counts Berthold and Leopold (Liutpold), as loyal followers of his house, had been distinguished by remarkable favors by Otto II.; Count Berthold had even been entrusted with the government of the March of the Bohemian Forest; to Leopold had been given the East March against the Hungarians—a dignity previously held by a kinsman of the ducal house of Bavaria. It is not ascertained whether he gave him the title and rank of Marquis. Duke Henry II. was furious that the young emperor preferred one of the house of Babenberg to one of the Bavarian family—that the two brothers Berthold and Leopold felt that they enjoyed the imperial favor, and no longer behaved to him, their duke, as this young irritable and conceited prince demanded those beneath him should behave. His own Bavarians gave Henry II. the name of the “Wrangler.”

The whole circle of relatives and confidants—Judith, Hedwig, Henry Bishop of Augsburg, Boleslaw and Bishop Abraham—urged the young duke, already full of wishes and dreams, to win the sovereignty of the empire, or at all events, to make himself free and independent, like Arnulf the Bad. But Henry II. had not Arnulf's head. Arnulf, the foe of priesthood, kept down the bishops; Henry was ruled by the clergy. Like his father Henry I., he was a man of great beauty; he was ambitious and domineering, and in other respects like him.

Boleslaw and Miecizlaw had joined the conspiracy to dethrone the emperor and place Duke Henry on the throne. Henry II. determined to act to his cousin as his father had acted to his brother. But these plots were betrayed to the unsuspecting emperor before they came to maturity.

Otto sent Bishop Poppo of Utrecht and Count Gebhard to Ratisbon, the duke's capital, under the pretext of a friendly visit. Without any suspicion of his secrets having been betrayed, Henry was persuaded by them to ride with them to the diet at Weimar. Immediately on his arrival he was arrested and taken to the castle of Ingelheim. Bishop Abraham also was seized and given for safe-keeping to the abbot of Corvey. On this, the duchess mother Judith retired to the convent of St. Mary in Ratisbon. At this time the Danes had invaded the North March, and the emperor's first duty was to repel them; which he did in the year 974. To punish Boleslaw for his share in the conspiracy, the emperor marched in the year 975 into Bohemia; he laid waste the land far and wide, but could not conquer the duke; and when in 976 he was about to renew the war against him, the insurrection against the emperor broke out in the spring in Bavaria and Swabia.

Duke Henry the Wrangler had escaped from his prison and got back to Bavaria. So had his guide and privy-councillor, Bishop Abraham of Freisingen. Both in Bavaria and Swabia the duke of Bavaria and Bishop Abraham were joined by all who were discontented with the emperor, or with Duke Otto of Swabia, his devoted friend.

The greater part of the Bavarian bishops were secretly on the side of Duke Henry ; the bishop of Augsburg openly so. The civil war between the imperialists and the opponents of the emperor was again going on. We do not know how far the rich and learned Hedwig, in her Swabian castle of Hohentwiel took a share in the fray by her money or intrigues, nor what were the actions of her mother Judith. Duke Henry and Bishop Abraham entered Ratisbon ; Wolfgang, the bishop of Ratisbon, with his most eminent clergy, who had remained loyal to the emperor, was compelled to flee. Passau was taken by the conspirators.

The revolt aimed at the emperor's overthrow. Bishop Abraham is said to have placed a king's crown on the head of Duke Henry in the church of St. Emeran at Ratisbon. The emperor, with a superior force, checked the progress of the revolt, besieged and took Ratisbon. Duke Henry escaped to Bohemia, and his followers dispersed to their castles in Bavaria and Swabia. The bishops and lords who remained steadfastly loyal to Otto II. were overwhelmed with imperial favors. At a diet at Ratisbon in July, 976, Duke Henry was deprived of his dukedom of Bavaria ; some of the heads of the revolt were condemned to death, many others to loss of their estates. All these had retired with the duke to Bohemia, or like Bishop Abraham, into the mountains of Carniola. Bishop Henry of Augsburg had been taken prisoner, but was dismissed unmolested.

The emperor gave the dukedom of Bavaria to his friend Otto, who now united in his person the two dukedoms of Bavaria and Swabia. The emperor had, however, previously separated from it the two Marches belonging heretofore to the Bavarian dukedom, and made them independent margraviates ; the Eastern March (Ostmark), in after days (Esterreich) Austria, was now made a separate principality, and Leopold of Babenberg invested therewith as margrave ; his brother Berthold became margrave of the newly-created margraviate of the Nordgau, that of the March toward the Bohemian Forest. This new margraviate embraced the later Upper Palatinate (Oberpfalz), the district of the later principalities of Anspach and Bayreuth, the country of Eichstadt, Bamberg and the Riess. From the previous March-lands of Carinthia and Verona, the emperor formed a new dukedom, that of Carinthia, which he gave to a member of the Bavarian ducal house of Arnulf's family, to the son of the Bavarian duke Berthold, who was under age at his father's death, and bore the name of Henry the Younger. This Henry had hitherto been loyal to the emperor.

Thus Otto II. increased by one dukedom and two margraviates the number of independent principalities—a number already made dangerously great by his father.

It is clear that the young emperor displayed a want of political talent. To unite the dukedom of Bavaria with the dukedom of Swabia not merely hurt the pride of the Bavarians, but was contrary to all custom. As the deprived duke, Henry the Wrangler, had always been the friend of the clergy, all the bishops were on his side, and therefore Otto's proceedings at the diet of Ratisbon did not establish a long peace in South Germany. He marched against Duke Boleslaw of Bohemia in 977, confident of victory ; but the civil war in Southern Germany broke out afresh in his rear.

From his exile in Bohemia, the deprived Duke Henry and the Bavarian lords included with him in the sentence of the diet, had carried on intrigues not only in Bavaria and Swabia, but in the rest of Germany. Even the archbishops of Mainz and Magdeburg, the Danish king Harald, as well as the dukes of Bohemia and Poland, had been, by the exertions of his talented minister Bishop Abraham, induced to form a great league against the emperor. Bishop Henry of Augsburg too worked for his kinsman, the deprived duke. This clerical cousin even gained over the new duke of Carinthia. The whole Bavarian family appealed to him; and by their appeal and by the common feeling for the interests of the ducal house of Bavaria, and by his own pride in his Bavarian race which had been hurt by the clipping of Bavaria, he was induced to regard Bavarian interests rather than gratitude to the emperor. We must not overlook the fact that a great German national party existed in the empire, which knew that the thoughts and wishes of Otto II. and Theophano were not in Germany but away in Italy. Otto II. and his Greek wife lost gradually all hold on German hearts. This national feeling drew many from the emperor to the Bavarian side. The duke of Swabia and new duke of Bavaria had scarcely moved his force from his duchies to join the emperor's army, when the revolt burst forth. Bishop Henry of Augsburg, who was bound by feudal service, in accordance with the military levy, to contribute troops to the Swabian division of the army, instead of joining it, threw himself suddenly upon Neuburg on the Danube, and occupied it for Henry the Wrangler. At the same time, the latter marched from Bohemia and took Passau with Bohemian auxiliaries; while Duke Henry of Carinthia joined his forces to those of the other two Henries. Otto, the Duke of Swabia, countermarched and besieged Neuburg; but soon all Bavaria either revolted to the Wrangler or was overrun by him. The Emperor Otto hastened to make a separate peace with Boleslaw of Bohemia in return for tribute and renewal of homage. The emperor thus got his arm free on this side; the Wrangler had lost his strongest ally, for the Bohemians were recalled from Bavaria.

The emperor and his army came to put down the new insurrection; Neuburg and Bishop Henry were compelled to surrender. The war between the emperor and the Bavarians was protracted, but ended in submission. Henry the Wrangler fell into the hands of the imperialists while retreating to Bohemia.

A tribunal of princes pronounced against the Wrangler sentence of banishment from Bavaria and detention under the guard of the bishop of Utrecht; against Henry of Carinthia, loss of his dukedom and banishment from the empire; similar sentences were passed on a number of counts and lords. Bishop Henry of Augsburg rejoiced for a second time in the imperial clemency; assigned to the care of the abbot of Verden, he was allowed in three months to return free to his see of Augsburg. The emperor gave the dukedom of Carinthia to Otto of Franconia.

He was the son of the hero and son-in-law of Otto the First, Conrad the Red. Thus, like Liudolf's son, Conrad's son occupied a ducal throne. The house of the Red Franconian, which had lived in the hearts of the Germans, again appeared in splendor.

The French king Lothaire wished to employ these disturbances in South Germany to satisfy the increasing longing of the French for Lorraine. Among the fickle and vacillating Lorrainers, a great part of the nobility was inclined to France. The French king formed a league with this party; in the summer of 978, without the customary declaration of war, he advanced with 20,000 men through Upper Lorraine towards the interior of Germany with such suddenness that he was within a hair's-breadth of capturing Otto II. and Theophano in Aix-la-Chapelle. They escaped with difficulty to Cologne; French soldiers devoured the dinner to which the emperor and empress had been about to sit down, and obtained possession of all the imperial furniture and baggage. They plundered the city, and King Lothaire turned the face of the eagle on the imperial palace from east to west, that it might be directed to France, not to Germany; this was intended to signify that now Lorraine belonged to France.

The insolence of this French violation of peace, the plundering and devastation which marked their way, this foray on the German empire, was felt by all the German races as an insult to the whole German nation, and they proved to the young emperor that, for really national objects, all like one man would stand with life and property by the side of the head of the empire. It is expressly stated that to this feeling of nationality, thus aroused by the French, and to it alone, Otto II. owed the assembling of a German national army of 60,000 men around his standard on the 1st of October, 978—an army which irresistibly chased the French out of Lorraine, entered France, and advanced to Paris. Sickness and the approach of winter alone caused the Germans to raise the siege and retire. French haughtiness had, however, been taught to respect the German nation, and King Lothaire sued for peace. This was concluded in 980, at an interview which the French king had requested from the emperor, and in which the former by oath renounced all claims on Lorraine.

This great national action with regard to France ought to have bound the young emperor, out of gratitude, to remain in Germany and discharge his first and highest duties on German soil, to live for the German nation, to guard their rights and liberties, to protect the small against the great, and to promote the well-being of Germany by extending civilization and furthering material interests.

But Otto II. and the Greek Theophano had no more mind to do so than his father and the Italian Adelaide.

The emperor could no longer be detained on German soil. Unfortunate impulses drew him over the Alps to the Italian land of enchantment, and Theophano had for years been cherishing this longing in him. He would have gone to Italy years before if the troubles north of the Alps had not forbid; for he believed himself called to put into execution and complete the thoughts and plans of his father—to establish German supremacy in Italy, and to conquer Apulia and Calabria. This was a thing he had long determined on. When he now began his preparations, the old loyal councillors of his father and the German princes urgently dissuaded him. They had learned by experience; they remembered what Otto I. and they themselves had done



in that alluring region. They conjured him to remain in Germany, where his presence was so necessary, and not to waste the strength of the empire in Italy for the sake of a brilliant but unreal and transitory sovereignty.

The condition of Italy loudly confirmed the truth of these warnings. Nothing that Otto I. had in tedious years effected by arms in Upper and Lower Italy and in Rome had been permanent. When the German emperor and German army had recrossed the Alps to their northern homes, the waves of party strife, which their presence had dammed up, burst forth and overflowed the land from one end to another. No traces were visible of the German rule or the emperor's arrangements. In Lombardy strife was raging between the people of Milan and their archbishop, between the municipalities of the cities and the nobility dwelling in their castles outside the cities. In Lower Italy these fought and tyrannized over Saracens, Greeks, and the vassals of the empire, who were as good as independent. In Rome, party strife was fiercest; not a soul there cared for emperor or empire.

Amidst all the party strife of Italy there lived and moved and had its being a power which was recognized and felt by all thinking Germans, but not valued or esteemed at the German court of the first and second Otto. As Otto II. had been brought up more as an Italian than a German by his foreign mother Adelaide, as Theophano's Greek countrymen had for ages dwelt and ruled in South Italy, as both emperor and empress had been crowned rulers of Italy in Rome, they lived in the delusion that they were regarded by the Italians as compatriots, as people of their own kind. And on this account men were deceived at the court of the Ottos respecting that invisible power which lived and moved above all the party struggles of Italy. This power was national spirit, awaking in might and erect in strength.

With all their neglect of things German, with all their preference for Italian life and culture, the Ottos, kings or emperors, were in Italian eyes still strangers; those who wished to be the rulers of Italy were not simply the emperor and empress, but the Germans. The Germans were regarded by the Italians as uncivilized and rude; the headstrong character of many of the Germans, their tyranny, which they exercised without any delicacy or refinement, gave cause enough for this view; national pride was now aroused in the Italians, especially in the Romans, and their pride was only equalled by their hate. In Rome, Benedict VII., the Pope elected with Otto's approval, was in 980 expelled by the democratic government after a six-years reign, and called on the emperor for help. At the head of the democratic party was the elder Crescentius, who aimed at making Rome the old republic, and the Pope a mere spiritual ruler.

So unfavorable was the situation of affairs for a new German expedition. According to the superstition of the time, strange sights foreboded evil, battles were seen in the fiery heavens, the stars fought with each other. But neither the warnings of statesmen nor portents in the sky had as much weight with Otto II. as the eloquence of Theophano urging him to Italy, and as his belief in himself as the man called to maintain the majesty of the empire in Italy, and to complete the work begun by his father.

OTTO II. ESCAPES FROM THE GREEKS.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND  
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Late in the autumn of 980, Otto II., with his army, his wife, and his new-born child—a son—crossed the Alps to Italy. The Swabians and Bavarians, under his friend Otto, the duke of the two races, formed the greatest part of his German army. Fortune accompanied him through Lombardy. In Milan he succeeded in composing the strife between the citizens and the archbishop. In Ravenna the emperor was met by the expelled Pope, whom he carried back to Rome. Crescentius fled from the emperor's wrath, and in a convent took refuge in the cowl. The contending parties were terrified into quiet, and Italian contingents of the nobility strengthened the imperial army. Otto II. proclaimed war against the Greek emperor, and rapidly advanced into Apulia and Calabria under the pretext of a hereditary claim of his wife to these territories. Fortune still smiled; he gained many advantages over the Greeks and their allies the Saracens of Bari; Tarentum itself opened its gates to him.

The Greeks called over new bodies of Saracens from Sicily. A battle took place on the sea-coast of Calabria on the 11th of July, 982; the Greeks took flight. Otto advanced in inconsiderate pursuit, and fell into an ambush which the Saracens had laid for him near Basantello, not far from Tarentum. The Italian forces in the imperial army were scattered and fled. The Germans gallantly maintained the unequal combat, but were overcome by superiority of numbers and the unfavorable nature of the ground. The greatest part of the imperial army was captured or cut to pieces by the scimitars of the Saracen. The noblest lords of the German, many of the Italian nobility, there found their death; among the missing was Bishop Henry of Augsburg, who, to wipe out the recollection of his former deeds of arms, had been eager in this campaign. None of the prisoners ever gladdened their friends by returning from captivity. A few fragments covered with wounds fought their way from the battlefield under Otto of Swabia, who, however, died in the same year on the 1st of November by the wounds he had received, without leaving an heir. The emperor himself escaped death or captivity only by presence of mind and special good luck.

He and those with him had lost their horses in the fight; he fled on foot with a few faithful followers to the sea-shore. A Jewish rabbi, by name Calonymus, was riding by; he gives up his horse to the emperor; and mounted on this horse, while the fierce cries and rapid hoof-beats of the Saracen pursuers echo in the distance, the emperor plunges into the waves of the sea, and reaches a passing Greek vessel. The ship takes him on board; because, by good hap, a citizen of the German empire, a Slavonic merchant named Zolunta, is on the ship, he recognizes the emperor, does not betray him, calls him his kinsman, and makes the crew give him help and welcome. Through this artifice the Greeks are induced to carry the emperor to Rossano. The emperor thus escaped; but the tale of his further adventures is so romantic, that truth and fiction can be no longer distinguished, and seems to have been calculated to make the Germans forget the defeat of Basantello by the romance of the emperor's fortunes and his wonderful escape after the battle. The true deliverer of the emperor, however, was the rabbi. A famous rabbi of this Greek name lived soon after in Mainz. His family came from Lucca, and it is supposed with justice that the family of like

name settled in Mainz and Speyer owed their permission to dwell there to the service which had been rendered to the emperor.

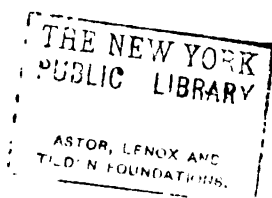
But the dart which had spared the young emperor in the battle and the flight, struck him in Rossano, the town occupied by the Germans. It came from the lips of the empress. "How my countrymen have frightened you!" she exclaimed, in mocking accents, when he met her.

With this barbed taunt in his heart, and with grief at his defeat, he reached Upper Italy. His power over the whole peninsula seemed at first lost. Apulia and Calabria both fell again into the hands of the Greeks.

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In Upper Italy the emperor busied himself with preparations for a new campaign in the south. The issue of his first campaign had excited all Germany against him. The German princes desired a conference with him; they wished personally to represent to him the necessity of returning from Italy to Germany at once. The emperor summoned the German princes to a diet at Verona in June, 983, with the request that they would bring new troops from Germany. They appeared in large number at Verona, but all without any military contingent. Neither the princes nor the people of Germany were in a humor to send a new army after the one that had been swallowed up in that grave of the Germans, Italy; the letters of the subsequent Pope Sylvester II. let us see that even the Italians were not contented with the emperor's policy, and called him an "ass" behind his back. They, too, considered the con-

*THE EMPRESS THEOPHANO AND OTTO II.*



tinuation of the war between the allied Greeks and Saracens a piece of folly, to which, however, they had to contribute their contingents. Otto II., however, persisted obstinately in the new campaign without giving ear to the urgent representations of the German princes. They left him in a body, lords spiritual and lords temporal; in July, 983, he had not a single German prince with him.

At the diet of Verona, the emperor bestowed the dukedoms of Bavaria and Carinthia on Henry the Younger, who was again taken into favor; and the dukedom of Swabia to Count Conrad, one of that Franconian family from which Hermann I. of Swabia had come, the father of Ida, the wife of the duke Liudolf. At the same time the emperor obtained from the German princes at this diet, the election as his successor of his son Otto, then in his third year. But him the German princes took back with them to Germany.

Even if it were true that the German princes had held out a prospect of new reinforcements, yet the dispatch of troops to Italy was rendered impossible by what took place meanwhile in Germany.

The news of the emperor's disaster in Lower Italy went like an electric shock through the Slavonic races, everywhere the foes of the Germans in the north. In the spring of 983, the Danes invaded the March of Schleswig. The Wends united themselves again into a great national league under their Prince Mistewoi, to cast off the yoke of Germany and enforced Christianity. Their hate against the latter was the more keen, because it was not the religion of Christ, the truth that makes all men free, which was placed before their eyes, but a system of priestcraft which inculcated slavery; a priesthood as avaricious and domineering, as haughty and pitiless, as luxurious at the cost of the oppressed, as were the lay tyrants and oppressors, the German lords. German haughtiness and priestly fanaticism, which laid down as a fundamental principle that the Slaves must be made to eat grass like oxen, and must be beaten like asses, had inevitably produced in the conquered deep rage and lurking revenge, which but waited their opportunity, and which now flamed forth as a general uprising of all these Slavonic races, and annihilated the Germans in their neighborhood with the sword in one hand and the firebrand of a terrible retribution in the other.

The Liutizians and Rhedarians on the Havel and the lower Oder revolted in June, as soon as their old allies, the Danes, occupied the Saxon forces by their inroad. The Obodrites followed their countrymen in revolt, and behind them, one Slavonic tribe after another rose against the Germans. The cities and bishops' sees of Havelberg and Brandenburg, as the seats of spiritual and temporal tyranny, were destroyed by fire and sword; the same fate befell all the German settlements on Slavonic soil as far as the Tanger river; even Hamburg was plundered and burnt. The Christian churches were destroyed; the priests partly murdered, partly carried off into slavery; the altars of the Slavonic gods, so far as they existed and had only been turned to Christian uses, were consecrated to the service of the older gods by the sacrifice of Christian priests. The Slaves united their belief in the recovery of their national independence with the resurrection of their old gods.



It was a divine judgment which thus punished the inhuman deeds of Christian soldiers and the sins of Christian priests, and the crimes of Otto I. and Otto II., committed on a great people, which, by the law of God and the rights of nature, were justified in resolving to mould their own destiny, or, if the worse befell, to be governed like human beings and not to be trampled underfoot. The news of the destruction and collapse of all that had been won or arranged in Slavonic territory by his father's policy and the good and evil deeds of Gero; the news of the sufferings of the Germans settled on the northern frontier by the inroads of Slaves and Danes, of the terrible danger which this general insurrection of the Slavonic tribes threatened to

the German empire, reached Otto II. beyond the Alps in the midst of his endeavors to carry out his new campaign against the Greeks and Saracens, although he knew that his means for this purpose were limited to the goodwill and military spirit of his Italian vassals and cities, and that little aid could be furnished by Germany. He had learnt from the mournful intelligence respecting the new war with the Slaves and Danes that Germany had enough to do to protect itself from these enemies, and yet he persisted in his notion of a new campaign in Apulia. The safety of Germany, which imperatively demanded his presence there, was less to him than his passion to avenge his defeat by the Saracens and redeem his own honor—a passion which he concealed to himself and others by the pretence that German honor was to be redeemed by establishing the superiority of the German arms and of German power in the south of Italy.

He was in Rome engaged in forming an Italian army, since now no further reinforcements were to be hoped for from Germany, for the purpose of carrying out the project which filled him with burning desire. Theophano, whose heartless sarcasm at Rossano still rankled in his bosom, urged him to follow her; he must have burned to show her that her countrymen were not the people to frighten a German.

History says that a deep mental depression preyed on the emperor Otto II.; experiences like his usually produce something of the sort. The wear and tear of raising an army which even the Italians objected to, came in addition. He seems to have sought to beguile his anxiety and care by jovial banquets, and eating and drinking. He suffered from indigestion, the man of "melancholy temperament." Haste, impatience, restlessness, together with his mental disorder, made him wish to recover as soon as possible from the slight attack of sickness. Tincture of aloes had been prescribed for him, and he drank four drachms at once; this excessive dose, quite contrary to the medical prescription, produced a diarrhœa from which he died in a few days, still at Rome, in the twenty-eighth year of his age. He was buried in St. Peter's Church at Rome, the only German emperor whose ashes repose there. He died on the 7th of December, 983.

The losses now suffered by the German dominions in Italy were added to the damage done to the north frontier of the empire by the Danes and Slaves. The imperial preparations on both sides of the Alps came to a sudden stop; for Otto III., the successor of Otto II., was only three years old.

• The German princes had elected and crowned Otto III. as emperor, on the Christmas of 983, at Aix-la-Chapelle, without any forebodings, without a thought of the possibility of such an early death of his father. Now they saw with astonishment that they had elected a child of three years, quite incapable of occupying the widowed throne or grasping the reins of empire. Some voices were heard in the empire speaking of the unfitness of such a king in these perilous times. The guardianship of the child-king, and, with it, the government of the empire in his name, must, in the opinion of many, be placed in a powerful hand.

A civil war almost arose on this question. The old German repugnance to female rule stood in the way of the empress-widow Theophano, who had the first claim to the guardianship; still more the fact that she was Greek, not German; most of all the circumstance that she was neither loved nor respected by the Germans. Henry the Wrangler still had followers; they now thought of him; he was the nearest male kinsman of the child-king, he was a cousin of the deceased emperor; he seemed especially to the clergy to be the man to whom the guardianship and the government of the empire ought to be entrusted. Archbishop Warin of Cologne, with whom the young king was living, and Bishop Volkmar of Utrecht held these views. Volkmar, in whose keeping the deprived duke of Bavaria had been for more than five years, now released him, and delivered to him in Cologne, as the guardian and regent of the empire, the young monarch. Many old and new friends—the archbishops of

Treves and Magdeburg, and most of the bishops, especially in Bavaria and Saxony—were on the side of Henry the Wrangler.

Henry's old dreams of the royal throne of Germany appeared once more; he resolved to deprive his ward of the crown. He might perhaps have gradually succeeded in becoming king instead of guardian, and real ruler instead of regent; but his own impetuosity destroyed everything. He had on his side the archbishops and bishops, the very party in which the emperor Otto I., in his manifold errors and misconceptions, had believed he possessed the props of his house and of its royal rank. These spiritual princes and lords were the first to desert the royal house; they were inclined to sacrifice Otto III. and place his cousin Henry on the throne. Henry allied himself with the duke of Bohemia and Poland; he was willing to call in the aid of the Slaves, as well as the support of France. He went so far in his treason against Germany as to purchase the support of the French king by the abandonment of Lorraine and the city of Verdun. Relying on these various auxiliaries, Henry, in April, 984, proceeded openly to claim the throne, but he found determined opponents in the temporal grandees.

He had, in the Easter of 984, ventured to assume the royal name at Quedlinburg, and a crowd of feudatories, the dukes of Poland and Bohemia at their head, had done homage to him. But by the end of June he deemed it advisable to surrender the child Otto III. to his mother and grandmother. He continued, however, still to play the king, and sought to recover by force of arms the duchy of Bavaria from Henry the Younger, who was at the same time duke of Bavaria and Carinthia. But at a diet at Frankfort, where the party loyal to the house of the Ottos was assembled, it became clear that the majority of the estates of the realm were for the young king. Even the bishops on Henry's side saw that it was impossible for their party to gain the upper hand, and they advised him to desist from his purpose and content himself with the dukedom of Bavaria.

By their mediation Henry the Wrangler was restored to his dukedom of Bavaria, and Henry the Younger, to end the civil war, contented himself with that of Carinthia; Henry laid aside the royal title, released those who had done him homage, renounced the regency and guardianship, and acknowledged Theophano as the guardian of the king and regent of the empire. All the estates of the empire had united in this arrangement, for Henry's dealings with the Bohemians and Poles had hurt the national feelings of the Germans; they were especially disgusted with his conduct respecting Lorraine and the French king, who was soon hereafter compelled by the German empire to make peace, and restore the city of Verdun which he had occupied.

The leader of the majority of the estates of the empire, of the men whose firmness brought to naught the struggles of Henry for the crown, was not a man of high origin, not one of the temporal princes, but one of the spiritual lords who had remained loyal to the Ottonian house, the son of a free but poor landowner from the village of Schoeningen in the duchy of Brunswick. In these critical times the child of poor

villagers took in hand the management of the empire, and guided it for a whole generation; he was Willich or Willigis, the archbishop of Mainz.

He came from the school of Bruno, had been long occupied in the chancery of Otto I., and raised by Otto II. to the first archiepiscopal see of the realm, that of Mainz, in spite of the black looks of many at such a high position being assigned to a man of no family. Theophano and her son were indebted to his loyalty and ability for the frustration of Henry's plans.

Theophano and Archbishop Willich governed in the name of Otto III., to whom homage was now done in all quarters. Women and priests conducted his education. His mother, his grandmother, and his aunt Adelaide, the sister of his father and abbess of Quedlinburg, stood on one side; on the other were the clergy, Willich, and, during Theophano's life, John, a Greek from Lower Italy, afterwards the priests Bernwart and Meinwerk. But the actual governor of the child was the the Greek John, between whom and the empress widow there existed a confidential relation which was highly offensive to the Germans.

This mother and this governor ruined the prince, body and soul. They set him a bad example, and for the purpose of retaining their influence over him, they gave full play to all his wishes. The court now began to assume a Byzantine appearance; Theophano introduced Greek customs, and his grandmother added Italian fashions. The boy was trained to speak only Greek and Latin, and to move according to the rigid etiquette of the Byzantine court. Under Otto II. there had still survived a certain simplicity in the Saxon palace; but now with the courtly manners appeared the luxury of the Byzantine palace, and many a German count and bishop learned to cringe like a Greek and fawn like an Italian. Men saw at the court dukes discharging humiliating services to the royal child, and bishops and archbishops crawling before him. Otto III. was not without excellent abilities, but the flattery of the male and female courtiers exaggerated the simple fact when they made a practice of calling him the "Wondrous child."

The young king thus acquired a false idea of himself and his grandeur; he grew up under the hands of the women and the priests, a beautiful but spoiled child; he was saved from utter destruction, physically and morally, by the removal of Theophano and John when he was ten years old. Death removed his mother; she died on the 15th of June, 991, having just completed her thirtieth year. For the Greek John there was no resting-place after her death on the soil of Germany. Even his fellow-courtiers would no longer endure him, much less the men of ancient German spirit, of whom many were found among the princes, like Willich the archbishop, like Eckhard the Margrave of Meissen, the imperial general, and like the Saxon lords in general.

All these and the Saxon people, who must have seen on their own soil and daily with their own eyes the un-German style of the court, could not endure the Greek Theophano and the Greek John, especially when they thought of the future king of the Germans. In the presence of this German hatred, well founded as it was, the priest John left Germany for Italy; his wealth, which he had accumulated in a few

years at the court of Theophano, he had already safely deposited beyond the Alps. But the punishment of his crimes against Germany he could not escape even in Italy; fearful retribution soon overtook him even there.

In accordance with law, the grandmother of Otto III., the Italian Adelaide, and the archbishop Willich now assumed the regency, allowing, however, the dukes of Bavaria, Swabia, and Saxony, and some other princes, to form part of a council of regency. But the defects of Otto III. remained, and even in the hands of his present tutors he grew up a strange, unlucky being. He was learned in a remarkable degree for that age, and his aunt and grandmother rejoiced at his learning, his cleverness, the charms of his manner, his graceful figure, and his beautiful face. But before he was of full age, which he became at fifteen, he was so taken up with himself, so haughty, so unlovable, that he refused to listen to the politic Adelaide, and behaved to her in such a fashion that she left the court and returned to her brother in Burgundy. Three years later, on the 17th of December, 999, she died at Seltz in Alsace. This was the end of that Italian Adelaide in whom Otto I. had beheld his highest luck, and who was so fatal to Germany.

As soon as he had completed his fifteenth year, the ambitious prince hastened to take into his own hands the reins of empire.

The long regency of two women had been employed by the aristocracy on both sides of the Alps to promote their own interests.

During the whole period of the regency, for twelve years long and over, the frightful war between the Germans and Slaves had continued in the north of Germany. This war demanded the whole power of the government, and it was fortunate in having a good general in Eckhard, the son of the Margrave Günther. Günther with his son had accompanied Otto II. to Italy, and had fallen in the battle of Basantello near Tarentum. Eckhard rendered the emperor great services after that grievous defeat, and had succeeded to his father's dignity; and he it was who, with Duke Bernhard of Saxony, had with arms maintained the cause of Otto III. Theophano and her counsellor Archbishop Willich rewarded his loyalty and service in the field by appointing him sole Margrave of the great March of Meissen, which had been by the arrangements of Otto I. divided between three Margraves—Günther, Wigbert, and Wigger. The error of Otto was made manifest by the new war with the Slaves, who found it easier to obtain success over numerous co-ordinate commanders, without any supreme commander unless when the emperor in person was in the field. The terrible distress of the Germans on the border lands in this quarter had convinced the imperial court and the regents that unity of command was the first requisite on the frontiers.

Theophano further rewarded Eckhard's military services by making the greatest part of his feudal possessions into hereditary private domains. He thus was in a strong position, and was in this respect favored before almost all the feudatories of the empire. Although he had not the title of Duke, he had the full powers of a duke, and the counts and lords of his native Thuringia all behaved to him as to their duke.

His high importance is shown by the fact that after Theophano's death he became a member of the council of regency, alongside of the dukes of Bavaria, Saxony, and Swabia.

The Saxons and Thuringians had already defeated at Belgern on the Elbe and driven from the empire an invading detachment of Slaves, but had not succeeded in checking the growth of the general insurrection. While the Ottonian emperors were spending the best strength of the empire in Italy, the Slavonic dukes, especially the imperial vassal Boleslaw II., duke of Bohemia, turned to their own advantage the romantic folly of the emperors. Duke Boleslaw had extended the frontiers of his dominions over the Moravians and the Slovaks northward over the Carpathians to the neighborhood of Lemberg and the Bug in modern Podlachia, westward over the Pilika and the upper Warta to the Oder between Breslau and Glogau, and across the Bober to the Isar mountains, consequently over Upper and Middle Silesia, and the whole southern half of the later kingdom of Poland. In view of the Italian policy of the Ottos, Boleslaw could not refrain from claiming as Slavonic territory, and annexing to his duchy, districts which had a century before been occupied by the Slaves.

The intrigues of the traitor Henry the Wrangler, who had dealings with the Slavonic dukes, and openly purchased the support of the Poles and Bohemians by sacrificing German territory, just as he purchased French support by abandoning Lorraine, gave Boleslaw room and verge enough. During the confusion between Henry and the party of Otto III., Boleslaw had seized the March of Meissen; and although he and the Polish duke submitted to Otto III. at the diet of Quedlinburg in 985, he refused to give up Meissen. The increasing power of this prince of Bohemia, and the position he occupied during the disputes respecting the crown, had given support and encouragement to the revolt of the other Slavonic races.

Fortunately for Germany the allies, the duke of Poland and the duke of Bohemia, fell out; the former wishing to take from the latter the conquered district of Chrobatia, whose ancient capital was Cracow. The Pole joined the German empire, and in 986 furnished a Polish contingent to the German army, which consisted chiefly of Saxons and Thuringians; the united forces under Eckhard entered Bohemia, and compelled the haughty Boleslaw to accept terms. Meissen was recovered by Eckhard, and in the following year he restored the forts on the Elbe which had been destroyed by the Slaves. He also subdued the Slaves of Milzen. The arms of the Thuringians and Saxons had new successes in the years 990 and 991—in the former year over the Abodrites. The North March, which had revolted eight years before, was still unsubdued. In 991 a combined army of Saxons and Thuringians encamped before Brandenburg. It was taken, but soon lost by treachery, and was recovered in the year 993. In the North March, too, some success attended the German arms; but these were all partial successes over separate Slavonic races, and were merely transient. As soon as the pressure of the German arms was withdrawn, these apparently subdued races rose up again; the Abodrites and Weletabians thus revolted in 994 and

995 when they were thought subdued, and this new revolt displayed new strength and daring. At last, in 996, the Wends as well as the Germans were quiet; both parties were exhausted, the Saxons and Thuringians as well as their Slavonic foes; in all directions the country was wasted and despoiled by the frightful cruelty with which the long war had been waged. The Germans, if they could not conquer, could at least injure their enemy by plundering and devastating, and the Wends repaid with interest every species of cruelty which the Germans had displayed towards them. Hence, both parties willingly made a treaty, or at least a truce. The ostensible reason for the truce was different; Otto III. had come of age, and was eager to proceed to Italy to be crowned emperor. He must, therefore, have peace in his rear, in the north of Germany. The time of Otto's majority coincides accurately enough with the time of the conclusion of peace, which took place in the first month of the year 996. In the spring Otto III. set out for Italy.

The conclusion of this peace was the first act of the independent king. He stopped the war, although neither Christianity nor the empire had recovered their losses. On this account the flatterers of Otto III. have made no mention of this peace. It is clear from what followed that the peace must have been based on the *status quo ante*; that is, whatever of Christianity and German rule had been planted by Otto I. and the Margrave Gero, at such a cost of human life, in the extensive region between the Elbe, the Havel, and the Oder, was lost; only a couple of Slavonic tribes, whose princes had been baptized at the conclusion of the peace, were reunited to the empire. The bulk of the Wends who had been converted by violence, had become heathen, and so remained. Two centuries elapsed before the German empire and Christianity recovered the ground it had lost under the last two Ottos.

Like the Slaves, the German grandees and the different German races had availed themselves of the time of the regency. As the Thuringians under Eckhard made him their elected duke, so the Bavarian grandees, after the death of Henry the Wrangler, elected his son in his twenty-second year to be their duke. This was the very opposite of the political system hitherto pursued by the Ottos. The regent Willich and Adelaide were compelled to sanction these elections from fear lest a worse thing befall the crown if they opposed them. The Bavarians and Thuringians at least remained firm to the empire without their old tendencies to secession, while in Lorraine alienation from the empire and a longing for separation again displayed itself, and in the northwest the great tribe of the Frisians had already presumed to form an independent republic.

This procedure of the Frisians was especially dangerous to the unity of the empire, because they wished to form a republic, not within but without the empire, free from all military obligations to the empire. If their example had had followers, a beginning would have been made for the dissolution of the empire into a series of separate states without any supreme power to hold them together.

All the Frisians did not then separate themselves from the empire. The great Frisian stem was divided into three branches. Two of them were seated between

the Flie and Loubach and the Weser; the third and largest was between the Simfala and the Lie. This western branch had been under an aristocratic government since the days of Lewis the Pious. The other eastern branches had long maintained their popular freedom, till the kings of Germany had appointed counts in place of the judges they had been wont to elect. The foreign counts soon made themselves unpopular by their tyranny; all dependence on the empire vanished when the Frisians saw themselves exposed to the attacks of the Northmen and the Wends without help from the empire, as the Ottos in their Italian policy overlooked these districts of Germany completely, and the Northmen and Slaves repeated their invasions without any fear, because the head of the empire and the German army were absent for so many years without intermission in distant Italy. Hence the districts of Friesland lying on the coast drew together for self-defence, and formed the Union of the Seven Sealands (Zealand), the East Frisian republic.

Among the West Frisians the policy of the Carlovingians and the Ottos had permitted the rise of a house of princes, the later counts of Holland; Theophano in 985 bestowed on Count Dietrich II. all previous fiefs in the wide district from the mouth of the Maas to the mouth of the Flie, as hereditary domains. From this gift the dominions of this count were styled Hereditary Friesland, and in after days Holland.

The Ottos, everywhere hostile to popular liberty, sought to make the aristocracy powerful in these Frisian districts, under the delusion that a nobility exalted at the cost of popular liberty formed the best support of the crown. Not merely was permission granted, but orders given to the high nobility to crush the liberty of the people wherever it was found.

The son of Count Dietrich II. of Hereditary Friesland proceeded at once to bring under his hereditary rule those portions of the West Frisian population which were still free, but had not joined the East Frisian Union of the Seven Sealands. It was evidently for the interest of the East Frisian republic to aid their brethren although they did not belong to the union; the hereditary count was slain, and the aristocratic system received a blow from which it did not soon recover. It seems that from this time the free West Frisians were in league with the Union of the Seven Sealands. The united forces of these free men were strong enough to avert for centuries every new attempt on their liberty.

But henceforth they had no sympathy with the German empire. They got rid of the imperial counts; they furnished troops to Otto II., but after him they furnished soldiers to no German king more. Free and independent, they felt themselves still German, still belonging to the empire; but they deemed they had enough to do in protecting the frontiers of the empire and their own republic against the hostile attacks of foreign nations. For centuries here in the north they maintained the right of not being bound to military service out of the frontiers of their country—a right which in later days the Tyrolese maintained in the south, till robbed of it in the second quarter of this century. The constitution of these Frisians was simply a return to old German right and law, with a few innovations to suit the times. We



must not confuse the East Frisian republic in its relation to the empire with that of the so-called Free cities which have been named republics in little. The free cities were and remained subject to the empire, and furnished troops; the East Frisian republic, however, arose from the fact that these free peasants were resolved to be no longer subject to an empire which did not protect them, and declined to furnish military service. This peasantry constituted a complete republic in the empire, belonging to the empire, loyal to the empire, but not subject to the empire. Only the West Frisians continued to render the services they had previously rendered.

Thus the time of the regency had enabled one sturdy branch of the German stem to recover its old popular liberty; and the longing for Italy entertained by Otto III. aided them in firmly establishing themselves in these regained liberties.

Otto III., now in his fifteenth year, was attractive in appearance, well read for that age in the ancient classics, but had not acquired from his instructors what was most needful for him as a monarch. They had made him a scholar, a fine gentleman, the darling of the court ladies, but not a man or a ruler. He had not clearness of view, soundness of judgment, or stability of character; he was destitute of energy of will and straightforward manliness; he had no knowledge of the situation of Germany, and false ideas of the situation of Italy; no heart for his German people, but full of enthusiasm, kindled by his grandmother, for the Italians; at home a foreigner, half Greek, half Italian, without sufficient talent to rise above the defects of his education. All the ideas in his young head, all the feelings in his young breast, were in confusion. This could only end in undisguised incoherence, in a kind of delirium; on one side his ambitious delusions were fostered, and the dizzy notions of himself and his greatness— notions he brought with him to the throne—were cherished; on the other side, together with his high political dreams, a Byzantine, monkish pietism, the darkest religious views and sentiments, approaching to gross superstition, had unlimited dominion over his soul.

The impetuosity of the youth who believed he could not soon enough grasp at the imperial crown, was spurred on by the necessities of the Papal See. The German clergy, excited by the accounts brought from Italy, represented to him that it was his bounden duty, his holy calling, to free the Papal chair from the tyranny of the republican party. The German princes of the Church and the temporal princes declared for sending to Italy a powerful German army under Otto III. On this occasion the spring of action moving the German nobles was not self-interest, but an emotional religious enthusiasm current at the time.

Otto II. had, after the death of Pope Benedict VII., raised to the Papal throne the imperial chancellor Bishop Peter of Pavia. After the death of Otto II., the expelled Pope Boniface VII. was restored to Rome by Greek gold from Constantinople, and overthrew the emperor's Pope, John XIV., and allowed him to perish by hunger in the *oubliettes* of Sant' Angelo. A year afterwards Boniface VII. was murdered, and the son of a Roman priest became Pope under the name of John XV. He was, however, almost a captive to John Crescentius, probably a son of the older Crescentius.

This Crescentius, a Roman of truly national spirit, proceeded to make Rome a republic; he ruled in Rome by means of the people, who were devoted to him, while Pope John XV. had made himself contemptible by the greed and nepotism of his relations. This was the Pope who, by ambassadors representing his distress, begged aid from Otto III.; he did not, however, live to receive it, dying just as Otto and his German army were entering the plain of Lombardy.

The hate of the Italians for the Germans had already displayed itself in Verona; a bloody conflict between the two nations took place in the streets, and many Germans fell in the collision. But seeing the numbers of the advancing army, the grandees of Upper Italy did homage to King Otto; he was pacified thereby. At Ravenna he heard of the Pope's death, and the young monarch deemed the moment favorable to transfer the Papal dignity to the Germans, to one of his own house.

It need not be pointed out that at a time when the national spirit of the Italians was aroused and inflamed, it would be very difficult and would deeply wound the pride of the Romans to make a German Pope. And yet Otto forced such a Pope on the Romans. The notion of making a member of his royal family the Pope of Rome so dazzled Otto that all other views vanished. He ordered his court chaplain and cousin, Bruno, a grandson of Liutgard and Otto the Red, to be escorted by troops to Rome, with an intimation to the Roman envoys that he was to be the future Pope. Otto followed with the rest of his army; and, crushed for the moment by the threatening power of the Germans, the clergy and people of Rome elected "freely the king's cousin to be Pope, and he took the name of Gregory V."

A few weeks afterwards, the new Pope anointed and crowned the royal cousin as emperor, on the 21st of May, 996, the Feast of the Ascension.

The emperor of fifteen years and the Pope of four-and-twenty could neither please the Romans nor be equal to the situation, which required resolution and energy. The young Pope had not the politic spirit of his great uncle the Duke-Bishop Bruno; but still he had a trace of it. He sought to gain the popular party in Rome. Otto's first action in Rome had been the condemnation of Crescentius to banishment. Gregory interested himself for him, and the emperor allowed him to remain in Rome; he was required only to take the oath of homage.

The term of military service having expired, many German and other vassals returned home, among them the Slavonic prince Mistiwoi. He had accompanied Otto with his contingent to Rome, but had in the fight in the streets of Verona lost a great portion of his countrymen. After his return he wished to take home his German bride, a kinswoman of Duke Bernhard of Saxony of the house of the Billungs. Duke Bernhard had betrothed her to him. But the Margrave Dietrich insolently remarked, "A duke's kinswoman must not be given to a dog." "The dog," exclaimed the Slavonic prince, "will make his teeth felt." In vain Duke Bernhard tried to assuage him; the prince so foolishly, so vulgarly insulted by Dietrich, rode away and summoned the Liutizen to Rehtra. He spoke of the insult offered to him, and all the Slaves in his person. "You have got what you deserved," was the reply; "for love

of the faithless and greedy Saxon you despised your own folk." Mistiwoi swore to desert the Saxons, and the Slaves promised to aid him in his revenge. And the German neighbors of the Luitizen, the Hevellers, the Weletabians, soon had to feel that a rash word, spoken by a Saxon leader "flown with insolence and wine," could kindle war between Slaves and Germans; the Slaves on all sides fell on the Saxon settlements, plundering and burning. A general war threatened to break out all along the line.

Such a state of affairs made the presence of Otto III., or of his chief commander Eckhard of Meissen, necessary in Germany. The king was persuaded that he left Rome and Italy tranquil; but he had scarcely reached Germany, till all that he had built at Rome crumbled to the ground.

The national spirit of the Italians did not long endure the German on the chair of St. Peter. What produced the outburst of national hate is unknown; probably some

insolence or outrage of the German soldiery who had been left to protect the Pope, gave the occasion; probably the republican party in Rome urged Crescentius to try once more a Roman republic. In this year, 996, at the beginning of September, the disturbances at Rome began, and grew till the German Pope Gregory V. could maintain himself no longer, and at the end of the month took refuge in Upper Italy. The republic was proclaimed at Rome; Crescentius at the head.

The Greek John, the first Instructor of Otto III., the favorite and privy councillor of the empress Theophano, had, after the death of his imperial mistress, retired to his archbishopric of Pavia, to which Theophano's favor had raised him. This intriguing Greek had begun to play a part at the court of Otto II., perhaps under Adelaide's protection, for he had baptized not only Otto III., but also his cousin Bruno, the young Pope now called Gregory V. He was, it seems, in close political connection with the empress Adelaide, and played the part of a secret member of the Italian national party. This party must not be confounded with the "republican party"

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in Rome. The Romans and Italians agreed in one point alone—the desire to be independent of Germany. The Roman popular party wanted no temporal power of the Pope, and sought to limit him to spiritual functions; but were willing to be, as a republic, subject to the emperor, and longed to see him away in Germany. The Italian national party, on the contrary, led by the nobility, were anxious to have the emperor not away in Germany, but on the Italian side of the Alps, and indeed in Rome. To this party the empress Adelaide belonged. John, on the other hand, was in secret relations with the court of Constantinople, and intrigued to win for the Greek emperor the imperial crown of the West. In May, 997, he succeeded in inducing the Romans to make himself Antipope.

The war with the Wends in the northeast compelled the emperor to delay his revenge on the Romans. He and Eckhard, in the summer of 997, had entered the territory of the Hevellers and gained an advantage. The Weletabians also were repulsed from the Bardengau, and the emperor hastened to make peace with the Wends in order to march on Italy; in February, 998, Eckhard with the emperor and the restored Pope Gregory V. at the head of a German army entered Rome. The Antipope John XVI. seized the gold and silver in the Roman churches, and melted it to procure supporters and means of defence; for Crescentius was resolved to defend Rome to the last. But the Roman populace fell away at sight of the large imperial army, Crescentius retired to Sant' Angelo, the Antipope John fled from Rome to throw himself into a fortress of the Campagna. Imperial troopers under Count Birthilo of the Breisgau, overtook him in his flight. Their hate of the favorite of Theophano induced them to put out his eyes, cut off his tongue, nose and ears, and thrust him into a convent. Otto III. had nothing to do with this mutilation of his old preceptor.

There came to the emperor and his Pope the Abbot of Grota Fernata, Nilus, a man of ninety years, and of such influence among all the people of Italy, who venerated him as a saint, that the young emperor and youthful Pope, when they heard that the old man had left his hermitage, hastened to meet him, to kiss his hands and lead him between them to the papal palace.

“Not to supplicate for any honor to myself,” said the venerable man, “have I come to you. On the verge of death I come hither only for the sake of your fame. Leave to me that unhappy, sightless man, who once was the confidant of an empress, who raised you from the font, and made you a partaker of redemption from the night of sin, but who now, hurled down from the height of fortune, is lying in melancholy darkness a prey to despair. Give him to me, instead of leaving him to pine in prison.” The emperor and the Pope assented if Nilus would stay in Rome. The old man agreed. The sightless Pope John XVI. was brought from his dungeon; by the right of Pope Gregory stood his courtiers, many German bishops and archbishops, and many from Upper Italy. When John XVI. came in in priestly vestments, Pope Gregory forgot himself—some gesture may have provoked him—fell on the sightless man and, tearing off his priestly vestments with his own hand, exclaimed, “Away with him!”

The courtiers flung themselves on the wretch ; they deemed they could best please the Pope by imitating his example, and continuing to insult the hapless Greek. They placed him on a mangy ass, with a fool's cap and feathers on his head, bells around his neck, and his hands tied under the ass's tail. In this guise they paraded him through the town, and finally took him back to his dungeon.

The aged Nilus was a spectator of the behavior of Pope Gregory V. to the blinded Antipope. In silence the old man turned away from the unworthy spectacle. The boyish emperor had also been present at the scene ; he sent an archbishop to soothe the indignation of the departing saint. But in holy wrath he turned to the courtier in episcopal robes : " Say to thy Pope and thy emperor, what has been done is an offence not against me, but against God ; it was for the sake of God's love that they had already left to me the sightless man. As they have shown no mercy to him whom God placed in their hands, so their Heavenly Father will pronounce a merciless doom

on them." The old man hastened from Rome ; John XVI. died in prison. Hardly a year passed after the prediction of the aged Nilus before the emperor's Pope, Gregory V., was carried off by a sudden death in his twenty-seventh year.

Later historians, not contemporaries, had a suspicion that he might have been poisoned for revenge by the party of the ill-used Antipope John XVI. But this is highly improbable ; Italian revenge does not tarry eleven months with its poison. God himself removed such a Pope and such an emperor. Neither one nor other had any conception of the position of a Pope or an emperor. In their conduct to John XVI. they had injured not the luckless victim, but the Papacy and the empire.

The German accounts affirm that the castle of St. Angelo, defended by Crescentius, was stormed by Eckhard, and Crescentius taken prisoner after a siege of " several days." These accounts bear on their face the stamp of fraud. The castle of St. Angelo could neither be stormed nor reduced by famine in a siege of " several days." This fortress,

which commands Rome, had been well provided for all contingencies by the Antipope John and the military skill of Crescentius; the German account even states that the former had sacrilegiously plundered the gold and silver of the churches to furnish means of defence. Impartiality requires us to believe the Italian accounts. According to them, the emperor Otto, at the restoration of his Pope, promised to the Romans that he would remove the seat of empire to Rome, and thus turned their hearts away from Crescentius. He besieged St. Angelo in which Crescentius was holding out without any risk of capture, offered life and liberty to this hero of Rome in return for the surrender of this impregnable fortress—so all the Italian chronicles affirm—and after the surrender broke his oath.

He ordered Crescentius, the leader of the democratic-republican party, to be beheaded and his corpse to be thrown from the battlements of St. Angelo and then hung on a gallows on Monte Mario in view of the city. He delivered Stephania, the wife of Crescentius, as a prey to the lust of his soldiery. "Under the violence to which she was subjected this lady gave up the ghost," writes Arnulf in his History of Milan.

It is unfortunately beyond dispute that the young emperor disgraced his victory by cruelties of many a kind. Otto had imbibed from his Byzantine mother and his education the idea of Oriental despotism; from his father and grandfather and the generals who surrounded him he had imbibed that unchristian haughtiness which rests on an imagination of being of better blood than the people, which holds as an article of faith the belief that a small minority is privileged by God to live in luxury at the cost of an infinite majority, which claims for itself all rights and leaves all duties to the people. It was not merely the awakening from his illusions respecting the Romans which turned to hate the young emperor's love for Italy and Rome; it was not merely the bitter feeling of being repulsed by a nationality for which from infancy he had had a passionate attachment, that brought such a state of mind and such actions; it was the hatred of the injured despot, the double hatred of the lover of absolutism against all that was free, all that was popular, all that was not aristocratic or royal.

Especially injurious by refined flattery and unsound political guidance was the influence of a man who was indisputably highly gifted, who stood in knowledge high above his contemporaries, but whose character was rotten. This was the celebrated



Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II. In spite of his German name, Gerbert was only a half-Frank, a Frenchman. Born of unknown parents of low degree in Aurillac, in southern Auvergne, and brought up in the convent school there, Gerbert had enriched his stores of learning at the feet of Arabian teachers in the Spanish city of Cordova, where, under the caliphs, Saracen learning and art had long flourished, and afterwards at the school of Bishop Atto at Vich in Catalonia. His philosophic education was completed at the high-school of Rheims, where from a student he soon became a professor, the most celebrated indeed of all their professors, a teacher who attracted illustrious youths from all parts of Europe. He displayed at the same time an extensive and profound political activity. Otto II. had given him the rich abbey of Bobbio in Upper Italy, and during the nonage of Otto III. he stood in uninterrupted alliance and high favor with Theophano, the empress-regent. By his exertions Lorraine was preserved to the empire of Germany. The Church has named him "a great master in the art of gaining the favor of princes." By his influence with Hugh Capet, the new king whom the French had elected, he was made archbishop of Rheims. In this position he supported the French king in his attempts to make the Church of France independent of Rome; in his excessive ambition he would gladly have seen himself independent at the head of the French Church. The attempt failed, and Gerbert was in danger of losing his archiepiscopal throne of Rheims. But the favor of Otto III. speedily raised him still higher. He had come personally into contact with Otto in Rome. On his return to Germany the young emperor wrote a letter very flattering to Gerbert, but very degrading to the emperor and king, inviting him to his court at Magdeburg. In this letter of invitation Otto III. said that his education hitherto had been unsatisfactory, and he therefore begged Gerbert to instruct him orally and in writing, and at the same time to support him with his faithful advice in state affairs.

The inexperience of Otto III. might excuse him in summoning to his privy council and to the guidance of the German empire a Frenchman who stood in the closest connection with the new and enterprising king of the French. But Otto, the emperor, the German king, was so far degenerate that he entreated the Frenchman to come. "We beg you," wrote Otto, the head of the German empire, "to weed out unsparingly the rudeness of our Saxon nature, and carefully to cultivate the germ of Greek refinement which lies in us." So alienated from everything German was this head of the German empire whom the folly of German princes had elected when a three-years-old child, and who, attaining the government when a boy, became every month more and more deranged. One might almost doubt whether he had a drop of German blood in his veins; it was little like a German, little like one who believed himself born of Saxon stock, to beg a Frenchman "to weed out the Saxon nature." Otto expressly asked for a "Guide to Arithmetic."

Gerbert replied with the flattery of an accomplished Byzantine courtier: "If there be a meagre spark of learning in me, it has been kindled by the fame of your imperial majesty, the virtue of your father, the valor of your grandfather. I only restore what

I have received from them." Continuing in this tone for some time, he concluded: "It is a divine manifestation, if a man, Greek by his mother's blood, Roman by his Roman empire, demands as his heritage the treasures of Greek and Roman wisdom. We obey, O Cæsar, your commands in this matter as in all which your divine majesty shall lay upon us."

Thus wrote the Frenchman in priestly robes to the youth who bore the imperial mantle, and who from infancy had been spoiled by male and female flatterers. He came to visit Otto's court at Magdeburg, returned for a brief period to France, and again sought Otto's court, there to abide as his evil genius, as his final ruiner. For Gerbert contributed more than all others to raise the imagination of the unfortunate youth to a height where his head could not but become giddy. At first Gerbert followed his own interests; then, when he had obtained all that his ambition in its wildest flights could have hoped for, he was guided by views hostile to the crown and nation of the Germans, by ultramontane principles.

Gerbert accompanied Otto III. in a trifling campaign against the Wends. To fancy himself a born hero, to believe that under his *prestige*, under his fortunate star, victories were surely won, had been instilled into him by his Greek education. The elected king of the Germans was six years old when he was taken in a campaign against the Bohemians in order that in after times it might be said that the young German king had been in the field. He was eleven years of age when he marched with the Saxons to Brandenburg. Although now, in the year 997, the emperor in his seventeenth year had not much success against the Wends, yet Gerbert sprinkled him with incense, then observed the pole-star in his company at Magdeburg, made a marvellous astronomical clock, and engaged with him in philosophical trifling.

Otto III. was completely in the toils of the Frenchman. He gave him a rich present with the noble royal palace of Sasbach in the lower Breisgau. In the following year Gerbert wheedled from him his elevation to the first archiepiscopal see of Italy, that of Ravenna, although it was not vacant. The Frenchman had such power over the emperor that the latter extorted from his friend, Pope Gregory V., the deposition of John, the archbishop of Ravenna, and the installation of the French prelate. Nay, the emperor gave his new archbishop of Ravenna for himself personally, eight counties around that city as though they were his imperial property. But the emperor had no right over them, no power of disposing of them. They were the property of the Church; the only dispute concerning them was whether they belonged to the Papal See or to the See of Ravenna. The emperor caused his Pope Gregory to renounce, in favor of Gerbert personally, these eight counties, and all his rights and claims on the city of Ravenna.

When Pope Gregory was dead, the emperor had Gerbert, his beloved teacher and guide, elected Pope by the Romans; he ordered it; they obeyed. The election took place on the 2d of April, 999, although the Romans held Gerbert to be a German, although the superstitious monks of Rome held him for a wizard who, by the devil's aid, had attained his great learning and honors by a compact with the fiend, stipulating

that he should belong to the devil after death, if the devil would assist him in everything during life; the triple R's—Rheims, Ravenna, Rome—on which Gerbert himself made a verse, became even during his life interwoven in the legend of his compact with Satan. But Gerbert's compact was not with the devil, not even with a human devil; but it was nevertheless an unholy one, and ruinous to him with whom he made it. He was the Satan, the seducer of the weak young emperor, over whom he had got the mastery, and he began, as soon as he himself sat in the Papal chair, to abuse this weakness for Papal ends.

Gerbert had been an opponent of the Roman See; he had tried in earlier days to found a French Church independent of Rome, and to be the Pope of this French Church. But from the moment when he himself mounted the chair of St. Peter, he was ruled by the same spirit of the Roman Papacy which before him and after him has guided all ambitious Popes, the spirit of the hierarchy which desired to rule the world in the name of God, and to make the emperor as well as kings subject to the See of Rome.

With this idea Gerbert took the name of Sylvester II. The first Sylvester was at the head of the Christian Church when the emperor Constantine the Great made Christianity dominant in the Roman empire. With the name of the first Sylvester an epoch in the world's history was closely connected. Not all the Popes, but the men of most character among them, had an object in their names; they wished by assuming the names of old Popes to express that they resembled the earlier bearers of these names, and would carry on or fulfil what their predecessors had begun or promoted. Gerbert, therefore, in choosing the name of Sylvester II., expressed the object he as Pope sought to attain.

This man, who had been from youth so filled with ambition that all his other powers ministered to it alone, wished to surpass all his predecessors, and even more than his namesake Sylvester I. to found a new order of things in Christendom.

The second Sylvester—so it seems—was led, by his knowledge of the German court and of the condition of Germany, to form the opinion that Germany no longer produced the stuff from which great kings were made, and that the time was now ripe to make the Papal See independent of the imperial power; to make the Head of the Church not only a peer of the head of the empire, but to win for him a supremacy over emperor and king. The Popes of late days had been either creatures or playthings of the imperial court or of the aristocratic party in Rome. A genius like Gerbert's could not endure such a position for the Pope. As he was conscious of his intellectual superiority over his contemporaries, he was anxious that for the future the headship of the Christian Church should devolve only on men of good intellectual capacities, in order that the intellect might rule the material power. In Otto III. he found ready for his hands the means of subjecting the imperial power to the Papal power. What Gerbert would have done for the elevation of the Papacy within the Church itself, his early death prevents us from knowing. But we can see clearly how much he misused his pupil Otto III. with a view to these ends of the Papacy.

He had completely alienated the unfortunate emperor from the Germans; he had filled his mind with such political fancies, his soul with such spiritual terrors, that he was thenceforth his slave. And this was done by the pupil of the Arabians, the disciple of Aristotle the clearest thinker of antiquity, the mathematician, the cool diplomatist, the man who felt himself exalted and was exalted about the belief and the superstition of his times. To gain his ends, Gerbert dazzled the romantic Otto with the fancy that he was to restore the Roman universal empire, and reunite the empires of the West and the East.

This was not only more than the preceding Ottos had attempted, but much more than even Charles the Great had intended. To keep the infatuated emperor close under his eye, Pope Sylvester persuaded him that for this end it was necessary for the emperor to take up his residence in Rome. Rome, the ecclesiastical centre of Christendom, must be the political centre of the new Roman universal empire. This suited Otto's dreams and fancies. The thoroughly unpractical Otto, in complete ignorance of the actual world, believed that if he were resident in Rome, his French adviser would be able and willing to aid him by word and deed in erecting again the universal empire of old Rome.

To the youth wrapt up in his own fond imaginations there came no inkling of the truth, that the strong mind of the occupant of St. Peter's chair wished to cut him loose from the natural support of the material and political power of his house and empire, from Germany; the Pope would the more easily retain the mastery over him if the emperor, already inwardly alienated from his native land, were also outwardly separated from it, and transplanted to Rome, a soil in which he could take no root and find no support. The influences exerted on his childhood by his grandmother and his mother were now curses. He abandoned his German fatherland, threw himself into the Pope's power, chose Rome for his permanent residence, and strove to make himself a perfect Roman, in the belief that he would thus attach the Romans to him. He occupied the old Roman palace of the Cæsars on the Aventine, and arranged his court exactly as the court of the Eastern emperors at Constantinople was arranged.

He assumed the title "Emperor of all Emperors." All who approached him had to address him by this title; none could gain access to him without the solemnities of Byzantine ceremonial; all on entering had, in Oriental fashion, to bow to the ground before the emperor of all emperors. He wore only a fancy dress, the foundation being Byzantine, the additions his own invention; he displayed himself now in a white mantle, now in one on which were embroidered pictorial representations from the Revelation of St. John, now in one adorned with the figures of the zodiac. Like Attila, the great Khan of the Huns, who styled himself lord of lords, he took his meals alone at a high table, high above the other guests at his banquets.

All who belonged to his court at Rome, had to learn the new Greek ceremonial. To imitate the old Romans, he began to give himself, in documents, high-sounding appellations. The Scipios were named Africanus and Asiaticus, from victories they had won; later emperors of Rome assumed similar names from victories won by their

generals ; Otto ridiculously assumed his titular epithets not from victories gained over nations, but from the nations he ruled ; he was *Imperator Saxonicus, Cæsar Italicus, Imperator Romanus*.

Even the titles of court officials at Rome, hitherto customary in Latin, he translated into Byzantine titles. His chamberlain became the *Protovestiarus*, the chaplains became *Logothetæ*. He created officers for whom, in his empire as it then was, there were no functions, because the court of Constantinople possessed such officers ; he appointed, for example, an admiral, although the German empire, in spite of its bitter experiences, had not yet a single ship of war ; instead of seeking "first the thing then the man," as the old proverb has it, he created first the admiral and then did not build a ship.

Naturally, Greeks hastened to present themselves to the emperor of all emperors and to be taken into his service. It is clear that the emperor who wished to be a Roman, and to gain the favor of the Romans, must have disgusted the Romans, with their republican tendencies, by all this display of Byzantine absolutism. Great as was his folly in this respect, his folly displayed towards the Germans was still greater.

The honest, upright Germans who had been in his court left the emperor ; some because they disliked the new court style, some because the emperor did not wish them near him. The emperor of the new Roman empire surrounded himself with new officials ; even in the administration and the army new men, non-Germans, were appointed. The Saxons saw with displeasure their king masquerading in this carnival court, and with still deeper displeasure saw themselves passed over or displaced by Greeks or Italians ; but their deepest displeasure was aroused by hearing and feeling that Germany was henceforth to be degraded, as in the days of the old Cæsars, into a province of the new empire, and to be governed from Rome. What an impression must this have made on the German people at home, especially on the Saxons !

In the midst of the enjoyments of Italy and in his dreams of power, his perplexed spirit was suddenly seized by the deepest despondency and contrition ; from his giddy height he fell into the mental state and actual behavior of a whining penitent. The emperor was overwhelmed not only by the universal feeling of terror which seized and crippled the most of his contemporaries, but also by the special feeling of his own sins, and his evil deeds towards his teacher John, towards Crescentius, his noble wife, and the Roman popular party.

Exactly a thousand years from the birth of Christ were then ending ; and superstitious thoughts and obscure prophecies united this period with the appearance of Antichrist, the end of the world, the last day. In previous centuries this belief had brought terror to many ; and now, when the millennium was expiring, this superstition gained ground, spreading fear and despondency. Men said that the Revelation of St. John prophesied of the thousand years when the dominion of Antichrist was to begin, the world be consumed by fire, and the Lord descend to the Last Judgment.

These obscure legends and tales of terror circulating among the people, received additional weight from the preaching of the monks, who were partly by nature super-

stitious and fanatical, partly urged to fanaticism by some abbot or bishop, and employed to serve the ends of some convent or see, partly commissioned by the great "Magician" who sat on the Papal throne, believing little, and free from all superstition. To make the Pope the lord of the world, and the emperors his instruments, he needed much money, and had no scruples about wittingly furthering superstitious alarms if he could thereby gain money for his object. From the steps of the altar, loudly and often, the preachers announced the coming of the last day, and painted in awful colors the end of the world in flames of fire while they called all to preparation for the Judgment, to repentance in dust and ashes. Reason lifted up her voice in vain. The words of Ditmar of Merseberg that "while it was certain that the last day would come, there were no grounds for believing that it was coming just then," were spoken to the winds.

The imagination of mankind in all ages has preferred to occupy itself with figures of terror and of night, rather than with thoughts and forms of light; and as the end of the year 1000 was accompanied by an earthquake, by a comet which in the eyes of the terrified beholders appeared "like a snake, a fiery dragon," by tempests and appalling lightnings, no further restraint was possible; these warnings were too clear; men lost their senses. Here were alarm and dread, there stolid submission and despair easily passing into licentiousness. From the walls of the convents echoed the deep solemn hymns of the coming of the Judge of the world; the churches resounded with sighs and groans, with prayers and calls for mercy, from male and female penitents. Crowds of soldiers, matrons, little children stiffened in strange groups in the catalepsy of terror. But the Church found gain. Although many spent their all in riotous living so as to have nothing left when the end of the world came, yet they were but few compared with the infinite number of Christians who freely gave to the Church their possessions, either whole or in part, as an offering to gain mercy from heaven. The records of the convents show that at this time the churches and convents received extraordinary donations; never before had so much money or land been given.

The soul and the imagination of the emperor were filled with these images of dread. He thought of the words spoken against him and Pope Gregory by the venerable Nilus. Unsatisfied with the present, terrified for the future, he sought peace in religious penances, in fasts, prayers, chastisements. For fourteen days he concealed himself like a hermit in the solitude of a cave, made a pilgrimage to the convent of St. Michael on Mount Garganus and searched out Abbot Nilus. He sought to propitiate him by endowments to his convent. But the stern old man declined them all. "I desire nothing from thee, O emperor, but thy soul's health; thou, too, must die like another, and must stand before the judgment-seat, and give account of all that thou hast done, be it good or evil." So spake Nilus, and the emperor betook himself to new and longer penances in the cavern-convent of Subiaco in Apulia.

The emperor had become a mere puppet moved by the wires pulled by Pope Sylvester, who availed himself of his contrition to weaken Germany and gain allies

for the Papal chair. Sylvester detached from the German empire the dukes of Poland and Bohemia, who had previously been its vassals, and made them confederates of the Roman See.

The Poles, belonging to the great Slavonic family, had allowed themselves of late years to be employed by the Germans against their kindred the Wends; the son of Mieczisław, Boleslaw the Great, had formed a strict friendship with Otto III.; he had

done him good service with his Polish nobles, who, after Mieczisław's example, had mostly become Christians, against the Wends, who fought for the old gods and for independence. He had been well paid for his services; the inexperience of Otto, his utter ignorance of the condition of Germany, made this an easy task for the Polish duke. The simple-minded emperor confided to him a commission to subdue the heathen Pomeranians, and open the way for Christianity. The Pole subdued the Pomeranians, but not for the emperor or the empire of Germany, but for himself; he made himself lord over Pomerania. He took from the Bohemians in 999, not only the city of Cracow, which had been conquered a quarter of a century before by Boleslaw II., but all the Bohemian conquests north of the Carpathians, including Moravia and all Silesia. He was equally successful against the heathen Prussians; he com-

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*THE YEAR 1000.*

pelled them to acknowledge him as their lord, and the old Prussian centre, Dantzic (in Slavonic, Gdansk; in Latin, Gedanum or Dantiscum), became at this time a Polish city.

Hitherto Bohemia had been the centre of the national struggles of the Slaves against the German empire. But now the nephew of Boleslaw II. duke of Bohemia, the Polish prince Boleslaw Chrobry, or the Valiant, in later days styled the Great, made Poland the centre of the Eastern Slaves. His dominion extended from the Slovaks to the coasts of the Baltic.

While Otto was dreaming that his friend the duke of Poland was working for him and Christianity, the latter had formed a Polish empire from fragments of Slavonic territories exterior to Germany, as well as from considerable fragments of lands which had belonged for years to the German empire. The new Polish empire was necessarily a dangerous neighbor to the German empire and German interests, doubly dangerous if it became in an ecclesiastical point of view independent of the German empire, and made itself immediately subject to the Roman See and one of its allies.

But Otto III. marked it not. He did not check the Poles in their dismemberment and annexation of German imperial territory; he even aided them in making themselves independent of the German Church. Pope Sylvester urged him to this.

The sagacious prince of Poland had invited to his court the noble and gifted Bohemian Adalbert bishop of Prague, and empowered him to diffuse Christianity among his new heathen subjects, the Pomeranians and Prussians. The Pole had learnt from German history how much the conversion of the heathen to the Catholic faith had been a means of confirming the power of princes over their old subjects. On the 23d of April, 997, Adalbert was slain amid his missionary work by the heathen Poles, and in 999 Pope Sylvester enrolled this martyr of the faith among the saints. The duke of Poland had even previously purchased for a heavy sum from the Prussians the body of Bishop Adalbert, and placed it in the church of Gnesen as an object of veneration to the faithful. The sanctification of Adalbert, leading to pilgrimages to his tomb, soon brought in the heavy sum paid to the Prussians, and also assured a perpetual income to the church of Gnesen. Otto III. had an enthusiastic veneration for Adalbert, whom he had known in Rome, and Pope Sylvester suggested to Otto that in these days of anguish for coming woe, when thousands were making pilgrimages to holy shrines, he, too, should make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Saint Adalbert, his friend and teacher. The young emperor entered on the pilgrimage, in the hope that the dead man would strengthen him as the living man had done, and that this pilgrimage would be an expiation for his sins.

At the end of the year 999, or the beginning of the following year, he set out, accompanied with many Roman senators and clerical dignitaries, on his pilgrimage to Gnesen. He reached that city in far-off Poland on the 15th of March, 1000. Bare-foot, in poor pilgrim's weeds, he prostrated himself at the shrine of the saint, confessed, with bitter tears and deep contrition, his manifold sins, and prayed for the intercession of the saint. Duke Boleslaw, who had his palace at Gnesen, overwhelmed the

emperor, during his sojourn of three days, with marks of honor, and the emperor granted whatever Boleslaw desired; he made Gnesen an archbishopric, erected over the bones of Saint Adalbert a new metropolitan church for Poland, divided Poland into seven bishoprics, including Kolberg for Pomerania and Breslau for Silesia, and made these sees subject to the archbishopric of Gnesen. This established the ecclesiastical independence of Poland. The emperor did still more; he freed the Poles from the obligation to pay tribute. This introduced the political independence of Poland. In the proclamation published by Otto respecting this affair, he calls Boleslaw his "brother and coadjutor in the empire, the friend and ally of the Roman people." These new titles and Otto's whole conduct in this matter show that his mind was still full of his dreams of universal empire, and that the Polish prince, who had an understanding with the Pope, confirmed him in these fancies and promised his co-operation.

Otto III., in the case of Hungary, also threw away the rights and interests of Germany. When Waik, the prince of the Magyars, the lately baptized husband of Gisela, daughter of the Bavarian duke Henry the Wrangler, saw what concessions the Polish prince had got from the emperor, he—he had taken the name of Stephen at his baptism—desired to obtain from Otto, his kinsman by marriage, the discharge of Hungary from its ecclesiastical dependence on Germany, and to receive the title of king. He obtained both his objects, one from Otto, the other by Otto's intercession from the Pope. Hungary became a kingdom, and the Hungarian Church free from dependence on Germany. In the delusion that the Poles and Hungarians would aid him in realizing his dreams of Roman empire, Otto did not hesitate at sacrificing German rights and interests.

Without regard to law or custom, without consulting any assembly of the empire, the emperor, by himself alone, gave these important concessions to the Poles and Hungarians; he acted quite as if he were in possession of the plenary power of the old Roman Cæsars. But great indignation was felt by the temporal princes and spiritual dignitaries of the German empire, especially those archbishops whose rights and interests were injured by these grants to the Poles and Hungarians. After Otto had laid aside his pilgrim's frock at Gnesen, he returned slowly through Magdeburg to Aix-la-Chapelle. The diet which he held here declared to him the disapproval of the German princes. In Germany men saw clearly the dangers which might befall Germany from the rising power of Poland and the newly-made kingdom of Hungary. The strengthening of the Slavonic element in the east by these acts of Otto must necessarily react on the Slaves in the north, where the power of the German empire was so rudely shaken. Already profoundly dissatisfied with what he had done for Poland and Hungary, the Saxon princes must have felt still further embittered when they saw at Aix-la-Chapelle that Otto did not think about an energetic ending of the Wendish war, or about the German empire, but only of Rome and his dreams of universal empire, and when they were eye-witnesses of the pride of their young emperor, who had now become quite Byzantine, a haughtiness intolerable when joined with such lamentable weakness.

Pride and superstition worked together at his opening the vault in which the emperor Charles the Great reposed at Aix. He had not been long in that city before he desired to see with his own eyes and to stand face to face with the first German emperor, and to appropriate to himself something from the great departed as an amulet against any evil which might threaten him. After a three days fast, the vault

was laid bare ; the inscription on the arch left no uncertainty. When the laborers, in reverent awe, did not venture to break an entrance, Otto himself urged them on till the marble yielded and the tomb lay open. There sat the Great Charles, erect on the marble throne, in royal array, just as he had been interred. Silent and motionless, Otto III. long fixed his gaze on the dead, then hurriedly snatched the golden cross which hung round the neck of the corpse, pulled a tooth out of the mouth and seized some still undecayed pieces of the white mantle ; he then rushed forth from the vault.

A new white mantle was placed, by his orders, on the corpse, and the vault built up again.

Henceforward the last remnants of peace of mind vanished from Otto's bosom. By day there ever hovered before his eyes the form of the mighty dead in whose presence he had been mastered by the feeling of his own weakness. In sleepless nights, in anxious dreams, the threatening figure pursued him and seemed to call him to account for disturbing the repose of the dead. On the night after the opening of the vault, Otto III. dreamed a dream which popular tradition has transformed into an apparition of Charles the Great. He saw before him the mighty form, and heard the words "Young and without heirs shalt thou depart from this world." Otto himself believed in the vision, and did not regard it as a mere dream. But more heavily than any vision must the thought of the extraordinary deeds and character of Charles have oppressed the weak and inactive Otto.

For a third time he hurried over the Alps to his beloved Rome; in the beginning of November of the same year, 1000, he was again in the city in which he intended to reside permanently as in the centre of the new empire of his dreams. He did not find it as he had left it. He came to Rome full of love for Rome and the Romans, in the hope of ruling the world from this point, and occupied with negotiations to carry out his dream by an alliance with a daughter of the Greek emperor. The Romans repaid his love for them as his hatred of his own nation and people deserved. In February, 1001, Rome broke out in revolt. They surrounded and besieged for three days the palace of the emperor on Mount Aventine. Cut off from all succor, he ran the risk of being driven out by hunger. Nothing remained but to sally forth, and he prepared himself for the mortal struggle by receiving the Holy Communion. It was his German following, a small detachment, which rescued him. Henry III. of Bavaria, and Bishop Bernwart of Hildesheim, his old preceptor, hastened from the German camp, and succeeded in stilling the tumult. "Do I deserve such thanks for having preferred you to my native land, my Saxon home, to Germany?" was the question Otto put to the Romans.

With the incurable wound of disappointed hopes, Otto, on the 16th of February, left the ungrateful city, and Pope Sylvester accompanied him. Otto's vexation must have been the greater, as this trouble had been caused not by the hated popular party, but by the aristocracy whom he had so highly favored, the nobles of Tivoli and of Rome who were rivals for power.

The proud dreamer was now brought so low that he craved aid from the princes of the German people which he despised so much. On the arrival of the first German troops he attempted, in June, 1001, to form the siege of Rome; but his small force was too weak for such an undertaking; the contingents of the Italians did not come up; they cared as little for Otto as the Romans did. In revenge, he laid waste without mercy the country around Rome. While waiting for the main forces of the Germans, "the emperor of the new empire wandered to and fro in Italy, almost like a knight in quest of adventures"; for the German contingents did not come up.

The call to arms of the unfortunate emperor had no success among the Germans. He had lost beyond recall the hearts of princes and people. Under the presidency of Willich, archbishop of Mainz, many temporal and spiritual princes assembled to depose the German king Otto III. from the German throne. After his last proceedings, Otto could appear only as a fool to the simple German people; to the German nobles as a despiser and enemy of the German empire, as one who imperilled its very foundations.

The intelligence of these proceedings of the German princes against him reached him instead of the expected contingent of troops. He had long been sick in body and mind; nothing more was required to produce death. He died suddenly on the 23d of January, 1002, in the castle of Paterno on Mount Soracte, the renowned Etrurian Hill, five miles north of Rome.

Already dying of a broken heart, he sank under the fever, according to one account from an attack of rash, according to another from poison administered by the party of Crescentius, in revenge for his conduct to this patriot and his wife. It is noteworthy that the latest Italian critic declares poison was most probably the cause of his death.

Thus died Otto III., unmarried, without an heir, just after completing his twenty-first year. The enthusiast for Italy and Rome, who in life had held cheap his German country and countrymen, acknowledged in death the value of German fidelity and of one's native soil; he requested the German princes in case of his death to carry his body to Germany, and inter it near Charles the Great, in the Church of St. Mary at Aix. He was now so changed, that he would not be even buried in Italian soil. Yet even in death his vanity was so great and blind that he wished to lie near Charles the Great, "the man of no deeds near the man of most deeds," without any suspicion of the irony concealed therein.

In a year and a quarter afterwards Pope Sylvester also died. His outward power had passed away as soon as his emperor ceased to exist.

In the then disposition of the Italians towards Otto, his death must have been kept secret till a sufficient number of German troops was collected to escort the body to Germany. The cortege must have been exposed to repeated attacks from Italian enemies till it reached friendly territory. On the frontier of Bavaria the body was met by the next of kin, Henry duke of Bavaria. He came from selfish views. He entertained splendidly the princes who had been with Otto III. in Italy, gave royal largesse to the soldiery that returned from Italy with the body, and made large donations to the Church for the soul's health of the departed emperor his cousin. He repeated the entertainments in Augsburg, to which city he accompanied the corpse, but there he solicited the princes of the empire to give him their votes for the German crown; at the same time he possessed himself by stratagem of the crown-jewels which Archbishop Heribert of Cologne was carrying to Aix-la-Chapelle. He is said to have taken the "holy lance" from the prelate by violence.

In Otto III. the elder line of the Saxon house expired. There remained of the family of the great German king Henry I. only his great-grandson, a scion of the younger line, the Duke of Bavaria.

This relationship gave him no right to the German crown; for, in the opinion of all Germans, the German kingdom was not an hereditary but an elective kingdom. Still, in the preceding centuries the ruling head of the empire during his lifetime, or his house, had succeeded in directing the election to one of that house, in most instances by corruption, sometimes from the attachment of the people to the house in possession of the crown, and by a natural feeling that a certain steadiness in the government was good, and that a frequent change of house or race at the election of the king had its disadvantages.

On this feeling Henry of Bavaria relied, and on the favor of the clergy, whom he had previously favored as useful for his ends, and who favored him as useful for their ends.

But on this occasion this sentiment had died out in Germany, especially in that race from which the reigning house had been taken, the Saxons; the unsound policy of Otto I. and Otto II. had weakened it; the follies of Otto III. had killed it.

The Saxon royal house had lost the attachment of the Saxons and the inclinations of the German peoples, because after the death of Henry I. it had done nothing for German national interests, and had, at the cost of German blood and treasure, chased hallucinations of vanity in Italy, oblivious of its duty to Germany, nay, contemptuous of Germany and things German. The German princes, clerical and lay, had opposed this unsound policy of the emperors, and had therefore made themselves beloved by the German people, although they had not hesitated to avail themselves of the policy of the Ottos to further their own ends. As these emperors were seldom in Germany, the power of the great vassals of the German crown increased during the prolonged absence of the emperor, and the more powerful, the more independent, the aristocracy of the empire became, the weaker, in exact proportion, did the German crown become in German territory.

The majority of the German nation were, therefore, inclined to desert the Saxon house even in the younger line, and, without any regard to it, to return to their old right of free election. This right had been impaired by the existing practice of electing a successor to the throne during the lifetime of the reigning king, to the great detriment of the people, as they keenly felt. The Germans, therefore, the Saxons especially, now determined that the old principle of election should be restored in full integrity.

The German people retained the idea that the king of the Germans must be German, not Italian; that the welfare of Germany was his chief task and occupation; that they must elect among the Germans the man whom his previous career proved most fit for the great task of protecting and ruling the empire internally and externally—that is, the man most worthy to rule. He was—there could be no doubt on this point—Eckhard, Margrave of Meissen. As general of the empire, he had conducted Otto's wars, and stood in such high esteem that Bishop Ditmar (Thietmar) of Merseburg called him "an ornament of the nation, the protection of the country, the hope of his friends, the terror of his enemies." He had such a good prospect of being

elected king by the majority, that the opposite party had recourse to assassination. He was murdered on the 30th of April, 1002. Both male and female members of the Ottonian family were abettors of the murder.

The opposite party was the party of Duke Henry of Bavaria; with him, the last male of their house, were the sisters of Otto III.—Sophia, abbess of Gandersheim in Brunswick, and Adelaide, abbess of Quedlinburg. The policy of the Ottos had been to make the princesses of their house, if they could not marry befitting their rank, abbesses of wealthy abbeys. They were thus princesses of the empire; down to the year 1568 abbesses of Gandersheim had seat and voice in the bench of prelates of the Rhine, an imposing court, and large feudal rights; and when the abbey in the above-mentioned year became Protestant, it still remained a principality of the empire. Every member of the Ottonian house who was not supplied with a temporal principality, was furnished with a spiritual one. In the view of that family, the empire was a means of providing for its younger members.

These two sisters, from family reasons, were already on the side of their cousin, the duke of Bavaria; and, in addition, they felt themselves aggrieved by Eckhard.

The matrimonial alliances of the Ottos with Italians and Greeks had exerted a poisonous influence on German morals—an influence which they still exerted, not only at the royal court, but down in the aristocratic circle. The foreign wives, and the trains of male and female compatriots whom they brought with them, and from whom the court circle was formed, had ruined both the hearts and homes of the aristocratic society of the empire. They had taught them not only Italian morals and enjoyments, but the vices and unscrupulousness of the Italians and the Greeks. It was high time for the Saxon royal family to fall; for, according to the evidence of Ditmar of Merseburg, moral degeneracy had spread among the German ladies. They showed themselves filled with a love of splendor and of pleasure; and as their customary incomes were not sufficient, their subjects were burdened with fresh exactions, were oppressed and exhausted. With luxury came licentiousness; and the same bishop complains of the “crowd of immoral maidens and adulterous wives who deserted their lawful husbands for their lovers, and exposed them to the murderous hands of their paramours.”

Italian unchastity, the moral corruption of the Byzantine court, had been propagated by the court of the Ottos, and by the prolonged residence of German princes and nobles in Rome; and the carnal sins of many German ladies, who at the same time were very devout, were regarded as venial, unimportant sins, and found easy absolution from many a domestic chaplain. Moreover, the dagger and the bowl, the Italian and Byzantine means of privy murder, were now seen on German soil and in German hands. Germany, if the second and third Otto had sat longer on the throne, would have sunk not only into a Roman province, but into moral corruption, into effeminacy, into pollution of that virtue which had so long kept the German nation sound and powerful as compared with Greeks, Italians, or French—purity of virgin love and wedded life.



Even the "holy maidens," the abbesses of Gandersheim and Quedlinburg, had not escaped the pollution of the court of their father and brother. They were accomplices, beyond doubt, in the murder of Eckhard. Duke Henry is more than suspected of complicity. Although he soon afterwards became king of the Germans, he did nothing to punish the murderers of Eckhard, the prince of the empire, who had shown such high desert.

Eckhard was no pietist; he opposed the Ottonian policy of favoring the clergy at the cost of the laity.

Archbishop Willich of Mainz seems neither to have been an accomplice nor an abettor of the murder, although he had been the clerical leader of the party who had wished to depose the feeble Otto III., and elect to the vacant throne Henry of Bavaria. The latter was notoriously a man of the Church, and so weak that more could be expected by the Church party from him than from the Thuringian Eckhard.

Duke Hermann II. of Swabia came forward as a rival for the German crown. He had succeeded to that dukedom in 997, after the death of Conrad of Franconia. The Swabians, like the Saxons and the Lorrainers, did not wish to have as king the duke of Bavaria. The latter had on his side only the Bavarians and the Marches appurtenant to Bavaria. But the clergy was his chief support, not only in Bavaria and Franconia, but in almost all the empire, while it was hostile to the duke of Swabia, who neither loved nor was liberal to the clerical party. Still, Hermann collected an army and advanced to meet Henry in arms.

This last scion of the Saxon house owed his followers not to any attachment to his person, but to the circumstance that he had purchased their votes by great concessions and promises. He had solemnly and formally bound himself that when he became king, he would restore to the Bavarians their old right of electing their duke. At the same time, however, he did not refrain from promising to the Margrave Henry of the Northgau, the son of Berthold of Babenberg, that he would by his royal prerogative grant to him the dukedom of Bavaria.

Henry determined to visit the various races to treat with both races and individuals respecting the price he would pay for the crown.

He intended to visit Lorraine to gain over to his side the different parties there; but the duke of Swabia prevented his crossing the Rhine at Worms. By a feigned retreat and the aid of the clergy, he succeeded in deceiving the duke of Swabia and crossing the Rhine at Mainz. In the first week of June, 1002, Archbishop Willich crowned and anointed him as king. From Worms he proceeded to Thuringia; from Thuringia to Saxony. From both he purchased his acknowledgment as king by important concessions. He had to promise to the Saxons to maintain their rights in all respects, and fulfill to the utmost of his power their legitimate wishes. He had to declare that he became king by their free election and consent. In August and September he traveled through Upper and Lower Lorraine, and obtained the acknowledgment of these districts. He had powerful relations here in the brothers of his wife Cunigunde. She was a daughter of Count Sigfried of Luxemburg, who had a

OTTO III. AT THE GRAVE OF ST. ADALBERT.

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county on the Moselle and great property in the Ardennes, in Saargau and Bedgau, but who had died at the end of the previous century.

The money of the duke of Bavaria and the power of the clergy were too strong for Hermann of Swabia ; he found himself deserted, and in October, 1002, acknowledged his rival as King Henry II. He did homage to him in Bruchsal.

King Henry II. was not even in body the man a German king should be. He was nicknamed the "hip-shot." His manner of becoming king was no recommendation. Hitherto the kings had been elected by a general election ; but King Henry II. had swung around the circle to obtain the votes of each separate country. Only by this means did he obtain a general acknowledgment.

King Henry II. was entirely under the dominion of his wife, and the weakness he displayed in regard to her wishes in reference to the affairs of the empire, soon involved him in civil war in Bavaria and its Marches. Henry of Babenberg had done much for his election, and when he now demanded from the king the promised reward of his exertions, the king evaded him under the pretext that the free election of their duke was a right belonging to the Bavarian grandees which must be respected, and that Margrave Henry, therefore, must endeavor to get himself elected by the Bavarians. When the king, before his election to the throne, had allured Henry with the promise of the Bavarian dukedom, he knew right well that his own brother Bruno put forward claims for that dukedom, and had prospects of success with the Bavarian nobles. He knew too that his wife, Queen Cunigunde, desired the Bavarian dukedom for her brother, Count Henry of Luxemburg. The king's own dearest wish was to keep for himself Bavaria and its rich sources of income ; but his wife did not permit this.

When Henry of Babenberg, the brave and powerful Margrave of the Northgau on the Bohemian Forest, called by the people Harry, or the Schweinfurter, from his favorite residence at Schweinfurt on the Main, saw himself thus deceived by King Henry and deprived of his promised reward, indignation seized him and the other Franconian temporal lords who had voted for the election of Henry II. as king. In the year 1003 he raised the standard of revolt and found many allies.

Among them was the king's brother Bruno, who saw his claims disregarded and his prospects crossed by Cunigunde and Henry's weakness. An ally, much more powerful through his personal popularity, was the young hero Ernest of Austria (Oesterreich), also of the house of Babenberg, the brother of Henry I., Margrave of Austria, who had succeeded his father as Margrave of the East March in 994.

The father of Henry and Ernest was that Leopold (Liutpold) of Babenberg to whom Otto II. had given the East March, who had been Count of the Donaugau in 960, of the Traungau in 974. The first appearance of the name Austria (Osterrichi), as applied to the East March (Ostmark), is in a document of the year 996. This Leopold had been the bulwark of the empire against the Hungarians. He had conquered their border fortress of Mlk, then Meddelike the "Iron Mountain," situate on high bluffs on the Danube, and commanding the passage. There he fixed his residence, founded the still famous and magnificent abbey, extended his conquests on the left

bank of the Danube as far as the March river, on the right bank as far as Calenberg, fortified with castles the territories taken from the Hungarians, and peopled the country with settlers from Franconia and Bavaria; this German March below the Enns had passed, at the death of Leopold, to his oldest son, Henry I. This second Margrave of Austria, Henry, is not to be confounded with Henry the second Margrave of the Northgau, and a son of Berthold of Babenberg, the brother of Leopold. A younger brother of Henry I. of Austria was Ernest of Babenberg, nephew of Henry of the Northgau.

Harry the Margrave of the Northgau found a natural and influential ally in the powerful Polish prince, Boleslaw the Great.

Boleslaw was near akin and very friendly to Eckhard of Meissen; when the latter was murdered, and there was no king in Germany, the politic Pole put himself forward as avenger of his murdered friend and kinsman, and seized the March of Meissen and the greater part of the later Upper and Lower Lusatia. When Henry II. had been acknowledged by the Saxons and the Thuringians, he could no longer maintain himself in these territories, and appeared at the royal headquarters at Merseburg. An attempt was made on the German side to take possession by treachery of the person of the dreaded Polish prince. The attempt failed. Boleslaw could not be persuaded that Henry was innocent in the matter; rather, he was convinced that the plot proceeded from him; from Henry's conduct before and after, such treachery is probable; honor, fidelity or loyalty did not distinguish him. Henceforward Boleslaw was an irreconcilable enemy of King Henry II.

Thus the ruler of the new Polish empire, who was called king by his people and himself, was prepared to be an ally of the Babenberger Harry of Schweinfurt. This ally was especially dangerous to King Henry II., for up to this time there existed in Saxony and Thuringia a party which partly had not yet done homage to King Henry II., partly was dissatisfied. With this party the Polish king had an understanding.

Moreover, there was confusion in Bohemia, caused by their cruel duke Boleslaw III., named the "Red Haired," who had been expelled, reinstated, and again expelled in quick succession on account of his barbarities. When the king of the Poles saw what a bad business the Bohemian princes made of ruling, he convinced the Bohemians that it would be better for them to acknowledge him as their prince, and to enter the great Slavonic empire already under his sway. In March, 1003, the Bohemians took Boleslaw the Great, king of Poland, to be their lord, and thus broke loose from the German empire.

King Henry II. and his councillors, weak towards external foes by internal revolts, made the proposal that Boleslaw receive Bohemia as a fief of the German empire. The prize was tempting. For although the Poles had Bohemia now in their hands, a day might still come when the empire would try to recover it. But *King* Boleslaw refused even for such a prize to assume the bonds from which *Duke* Boleslaw had freed himself, the feudal bonds that had bound and subordinated him to the German empire. Although his Slavonic empire was now as extensive as that of Samo's once had been,

yet his thoughts were directed to a much prouder erection, that of an empire which should unite all the Slavonic races and tribes from the Baltic to the Adriatic, from the Elbe to the Wolga and the Dnieper, under his sole power.

King Henry II., or rather his councillors and statesmen, must have thought themselves lucky in drawing together a numerous army from Bavaria, Rhenish Franconia, and Lorraine, and in being able to fall upon and subdue the allied German adversaries separately before their forces were united. Harry of Schweinfurt and the king's brother Bruno escaped by flight; Ernest of Austria fell into the hands of the royal army. King Henry at once nominated judges to try the prisoner, and these judges condemned him to death. This proceeding was as illegal as it was impolitic. According to law and usage, Ernest could only be tried by an assembly of the kingdom; and his execution could not but make his brother, the powerful Margrave of Austria, hostile to the king. Archbishop Willich of Mainz immediately made remonstrance against the execution of the judgment.

To this man, the first ecclesiastical prince, and the most accomplished statesman of the empire, Henry II. owed empire, coronation and present deliverance. Willich had brought to him in his direst need, his own troops and the other Rhenish Francosians. Cunigunde knew that his advice must be followed, and by his advice the death-penalty was commuted into a money fine—high indeed, but still a mere fine. That a high fine was assumed to be payable by Ernest shows the wealthy position in which the house of Babenberg now was.

But a continuation of the war was still threatened by the Margrave Harry and by Bruno; and their ally, the king of Poland, refused all accommodation. The German grandees on King Henry's side—Willich, Duke Bernhard of Saxony and the archbishop of Magdeburg—succeeded in negotiating a reconciliation without conditions between the king and his brother Bruno, and the submission of the Margrave Harry. Harry and his followers received back all their private domains; the Margrave had to place himself for a few months in the custody of Giebichenstein, and was then restored to his Margraviate of the Northgau, with the territory thereof somewhat diminished. This took place towards the end of the year 1004. But Henry of Luxemburg, Queen Cunigunde's brother, was and remained duke of Bavaria. King Henry had granted this dukedom to him on the 21st of March, 1004.

Two other brothers of Cunigunde were a heavy burden to King Henry. Cunigunde's partiality for her brother Henry had kindled the war for the dukedom of Bavaria, and now her brothers and other kinsfolk caused a new civil war which shook Lorraine for almost ten years, and filled Upper Lorraine with all the horrors of war. These Luxemburg brethren and kinsfolk of the queen so utterly disregarded the head of the empire and the laws of the empire that they arbitrarily filled up the sees of Treves and Metz with members of their family; the bishop of Metz was a child, the archbishop of Treves a mere boy. As the new duke of Bavaria sided with his brothers, the king of the Germans was much weakened in the great and severe struggle against the brave and enterprising king of the new Polish empire.

Boleslaw the Great, after all his German confederates had quitted the field, continued the war against King Henry II. and the German empire, not only for the possession of Bohemia and the two Lusatias, but also as a champion of the Slaves. Between 1004 and 1005, the Polish king was at a disadvantage. The two sons of the expelled Red-haired Boleslaw, the legitimate prince of Bohemia, of the family of Przemyśl, Jaromir and Udalrich, had fled to the court of their kinsman, the German king Henry II., and had there found hospitality and protection.

Jaromir succeeded, more by the favor of the Bohemian nobility than by the help of the German king, in becoming native-duke of Bohemia, and King Henry II. confirmed him in that dukedom. The Poles were compelled to evacuate Bohemia; a German army entered Upper Lusatia to recover it from the Poles. Budissin (Bauzen) surrendered to the Germans after a hard struggle, and in the following year the German army of Henry advanced to the vicinity of Posen. The crafty king of the Poles had put no obstacle in their way. Want of provisions was soon felt in their inconsiderate advance, and King Henry was compelled to make a treaty whereby he confirmed the king of Poland in all his conquests, with the exception of Bohemia, now in possession of the native party, and Lusatia occupied by the Germans.

Thus the imperial fief of Bohemia was restored to Jaromir. But in the year 1012 Udalrich revolted, and thrust Jaromir from the ducal throne; the German king Henry II. confirmed the successful insurgent as duke of Bohemia, arrested the lawful duke Jaromir, who fled to him for protection, and handed him over to the brother who had overthrown him.

Such an action could only strengthen the opinion of men that a house from which such kings proceeded was ripe for destruction.

The war between the magnanimous head of the new Slavonic empire and the weak German king Henry II. lasted fourteen years longer, continued without glory on the German side, and ended without honor.

That trait which has been hereditary in the German nation down to the nineteenth century, displayed itself in the Slavonic nation—division and the sin of allowing themselves to be used by their hereditary enemies against their own nation.

It was not the arms of Germany, but the treason of Slavonic tribes to their own nationality which caused the great king of Poland to lose all the advantages he had gained in the year 1004 and 1005. He had against him not only that party in Bohemia which did not sympathize with his notion of a great Slavonic empire, but also the two powerful Wendish races, the Leutizen and Rhedarians, who up to this time had held the front rank in the struggles of the Slaves against the Germans.

These heathens were the chief auxiliaries of the Christian king of Germany against the gifted Christian civilizer, the Pole Boleslaw the Great.

These two tribes, two decades previously, had been foremost of all in the insurrection against the German empire, and now, in March, 1003, they voluntarily offered to support the German king with arms against the great statesman and warrior who had come brilliantly forth from their own nation, because he wished to extend Chris-

tian culture, national union, and be the head of a united grand Slavonic empire. The pride of the numerous petty Wendish princes would not obey him who had been but a short time before their equal. The Wendish idol-priests, who still offered human sacrifices to their graven images, were furious against the Polish king because he proceeded with zeal to introduce among the still heathen Slaves of his dominions Christianity with all its ecclesiastical and political institutions and civilizing and softening influences, and allowed the idolatrous images, the idolatrous priests, and the idolatrous worship to dwindle away by themselves. The Pomeranians lately subdued by the king of Poland showed the idolatrous priests that their fate soon would be, like the priests in Pomerania, to lose both wealth and influence when the advancing power of the Polish king absorbed their territory into his new Slavonic empire. The Polish king had not overthrown the idolatrous images and expelled the idolatrous priests in Pomerania, but the results of his favoring Christianity were perceptible.

The extremest abuse of power by degenerate Christian priests with their tithe-collectors could not be harder to the Slaves than the rule of their own nobility and priesthood. It was not, as in the case of the Saxons and Alemanni, the aversion of freemen to a form of religion which brought heavy burdens and imperilled their old freedom. Such freedom had never been possessed by the lower class of Slaves. The Slavonic nobility united with the idol-priesthood to persuade the mass of the Wends in the country of the Leutizen and Rhedarians, a class kept in the deepest superstition, that it was more honorable and advantageous to have the German king as their over-lord than the Polish king as their lord; that it was better to join the German empire than to enter into the union of a kingdom of their own Slavonic nationality; with the Germans they would be allies, with King Boleslaw they would be Polish subjects.

Again, as in previous years, the Slaves displayed the old national failing, that the ruling castes of the individual tribes, especially the princes, preferred to side with foreigners, even with the national enemy, under the pretence of preserving their "independence"; that under the imagination that their liberty was endangered by their own compatriots, they preferred to fling themselves into the arms of the foreigner rather than form a national whole, and allow the prince of that tribe which then formed the national nucleus to be the ruler of them all.

Again, as in previous years, this was lucky for the German empire. Just as the Bohemian princes and lords, to avoid having the Poles and their king over them, clung closer than before to the German empire, so did these Wends. The masses blindly followed their princes and idolatrous priests. Their speeches wiped out, as with a sponge, from the memory of the dull crowd all that previously had made German rule seem intolerable. On this occasion the idol-priests told them that the king of the Poles was the terrible foe who would extirpate their faith, and the king of the Germans the friend who would protect it. In blind zeal for their faith, the masses fought henceforth for the German empire against the Slavonic empire of the Poles.

Their faith was assured them in the treaty which these Wends made with Henry II.



in March, 1003, when the coalition of the king of Poland with the insurgent German princes threatened King Henry. The first condition of the treaty with the Wends was the protection of their heathen faith, their idolatrous worship with human sacrifices which Boleslaw wished to abolish. The second condition was a conditional dependence on the German empire.

They obtained from King Henry what they asked; unimpeded exercise of their idolatrous religion, and freedom from being molested with exhortations to return to Christianity, together with the independent management of their internal affairs. In return they undertook to pay tribute to the German king, to appear before his tribunal in important cases, and to furnish a military contingent against the enemy.

All these terms King Henry accepted, although he was as pious as a monk. He accepted them; the clerical councillors who with Cunigunde ruled him told him that it was now better to have the heathens as his allies against the Christian king of Poland, than that the same should compel these heathen to embrace Christianity.

It has been related in an earlier chapter what injurious evidence the monkish chroniclers of the time bore respecting the Liutizen and Rhedarians in regard to fidelity. The relapse into heathenism must have marvellously improved them. For the same chroniclers now relate that these Wends scrupulously fulfilled in all points the treaty with the German king, and fought for fifteen years loyally by his side against their own race till German pride began to treat the Wends, whose support they needed no longer, with scorn of their faith, perhaps too with contempt for their desertion of their countrymen.

Such are the thanks always paid to those tribes who allow themselves to be used by the foreigner against their own people and fatherland. In the last year of the war against the Polish king, it happened that a stone was flung from the middle of a Saxon troop in the allied army against one of the idols which their Wendish allies carried with them. Another idol was lost in the Mulde as they crossed this stream. The idolatrous priesthood, insulted and despised by the Germans, and the mass of the Wends saw in this a sign of divine wrath, as they had seen in the previous occurrence a sign of German contempt.

This was too much for the Slaves; the masses were in a state of ferment; even the princes, seeing the influence of the heathen priests, were so moved that now, but not till now, their loyalty to the German empire wavered, and the spiritual advisers of King Henry II. deemed it a fitting time to conclude peace with the Polish king.

Briefly before, in 1017, Henry had found allies in another heathen people, the Russians. The rapid extension of the Polish empire which was advancing towards the Russian territory, made the Russians anxious; they allied themselves with the king of Germany, and a Russian army entered Poland. An armed movement against the Poles was to be expected from King Stephen I. of Hungary also, not because he was a brother-in-law of King Henry II., but because the Hungarians began to find the aggrandizement of Poland threatening to them. In spite of Russian aid and Hungarian promises, Henry, terrified with the threatened defection of the Wends which

might kindle a new Slavonic war in that quarter, made peace with Boleslaw the Great, a peace the terms of which were out of all proportion to the sacrifices of the fifteen years war and the honor of the German empire.

The peace between Henry and Boleslaw was concluded and sworn to on the 30th of January, 1018, at Bauzen; Bishop Ditmar, Henry's panegyrist, says, "not such as honor required, but such as he then could." Upper and Lower Lusatia, which Boleslaw had reconquered, remained by the terms of peace separated from the German empire and annexed to the Polish empire.

Henceforth Poland stood as the champion of Slavism in opposition to the German people and empire. The folly of King Otto III. and the weakness of Henry II. had laid the foundation for this state of affairs, which weakened the German empire and at the same time the national rights of the Slaves.

Germany itself, meanwhile, was filled with internal discord; not only in both the Lorraines, but in Swabia and Saxony party strife raged not without bloody conflicts. That King Henry II. could nevertheless maintain himself was due to the house of Babenberg, its loyalty and prudence. Henry's flatterers name the Babenbergers the "Pillars of the empire." Not only Margrave Henry of Austria, but Margrave Henry of the Northgau, and the two brothers of the Austrian stood faithful to the king.

One of them was Archbishop Poppo of Treves, appointed by King Henry; the other the gallant youth Ernest who, after his unsuccessful revolt, had been condemned to death but let off with a fine. Ernest since that time had done loyal service. Gisela, the eldest daughter of the wealthy Hermann of Swabia, had been married to the Saxon count Bruno, a relation of the Ottonian house. Becoming a widow after a short coverture she gave her hand to Ernest. Her father, Duke Hermann II., had died in 1003; her son, Duke Hermann III., had died in 1012, and in him the male line of the house became extinct. King Henry now raised Gisela's second husband, Ernest of Babenberg, to the ducal throne of Swabia. Ernest of Babenberg was for three years duke of Swabia when he was shot dead in the chase by the arrow which a friend and vassal aimed at the game. The first-born son of Ernest and Gisela, Ernest II., became duke under the guardianship of his mother Gisela.

The widow, still youthful and distinguished for her beauty and her wealth, married, after her year of mourning, against the will of King Henry, the Franconian count Conrad. This Franconian count was not merely in the eyes of his contemporaries an illustrious warrior, but also "very rich in property in Rhenish Franconia, and a man of such a spirit as would never condescend to serve another." The choice of this third husband was displeasing to King Henry, although he was a member of the Saxon royal family. For he was great-grandson of Conrad the Red and Liutgarde the daughter of the emperor Otto I. King Henry was hostile to this Count Conrad, and to the ruling house of the Salian Franks. He therefore had, after the death of Duke Conrad I. of Carinthia, in 1012, a kinsman of this Count Conrad, not given this dukedom to his son who bore his name, but to Adalbert of Eppenstein, whose estates lay in Upper Styria, and who was Margrave on the Mur. This Adalbert had to wife

Brigitta a sister of Gisela, and was thus possessed of estates in Swabia. The Conrad thus passed over was the grandson of Duke Otto of Carinthia, who had done much for the election of Henry II. The Salian house deemed this ingratitude on the king's part, even if he had acted not contrary to law but only contrary to usage.

When now the most respected member of the Franconian house, Count Conrad, gained further strength by his union with Gisela, King Henry II. became disturbed. The weaker the king was, the more Conrad's influence was a personal influence, so much the more anxious must the king be rendered by the increased influence and power which Conrad acquired with the hand of Gisela, since she was not only rich, but was the guardian of her son Ernest, whereby the government of the dukedom of Swabia was in her hand. Without Gisela having given him any cause for such an act, but simply from fear of the already too powerful Count Conrad her husband, King Henry deposed Gisela from her guardianship of her son, and of the government of Swabia, and gave both to the uncle of the minor, to the Babenberger Archbishop Poppo of Treves, in the year 1017.

This was contrary to law, and a bitter mortification both to Gisela and to Count Conrad. Conrad now joined the opponents of King Henry and Cunigunde in Lower Lorraine, the adversaries of the Luxemburg counts and their tyranny, and at the same time, in behalf of the younger Conrad who had not received his dukedom of Carinthia, he became at feud with his own brother-in-law, Adalbert of Eppenstein, who had been made by King Henry duke of Carinthia. He attacked the latter in Swabia, not merely because the estates of his wife Brigitta lay there, but because as the state of affairs declares, the military defence of Swabia was entrusted to this duke of Carinthia, as the archiepiscopal guardian and administrator could not undertake that duty. Count Conrad defeated Adalbert in a battle near Ulm in 1019; but the latter and the archbishop remained administrators of Swabia; Count Conrad, however, was for a short time banished by King Henry.

The king of Germany had least power in Saxony, the cradle of his race. The folly of Otto III. and the results of the concessions to the Saxon nobles by King Henry in return for their recognition of his title, now worked together. Especially the eastern Marches were filled with feuds of the nobility; families were at feud with each other, as though there were no king in the empire, no duke in the country. The upper clergy and the temporal grandees were at war with each other; and the latter suffered much from the former. Duke Bernhard I. had died on the 9th of February, 1011. He had described himself as duke of Saxony by the grace of God, but his own son and successor, Bernhard II., surpassed him in haughty pride; he cared little for the head of the empire, and in 1019, during Conrad's struggle with the party of King Henry, Duke Bernhard II. had openly revolted against the king. He was a power in the empire; from the Ruhr and the Lippe to the Elbe and the Saale, from the Eder and Fulda to the Baltic, he was duke of all the Saxons in Engern, Eastphalia and Westphalia, and Margrave over the Slavonic tribes dwelling on the lower Elbe towards the Peene. Not the royal arms, but the prudent interference of Queen

Cunigunde and mediation of Bishop Meinwerc of Paderborn, who had great influence with Henry, brought about peace in Saxony in the year 1020.

In the prolonged war against his wife's three brothers, the counts of Luxemburg, who were vexing Lorraine, the king had no success till 1016. He had as early as the year 1009 deposed one of these brothers-in-law whom he had made duke of Bavaria, and united this dukedom to the crown; on the final submission of the Luxemburgers in 1017 this brother-in-law Henry was again invested with the dukedom of Bavaria.

The discontent of the temporal grandees in Saxony and elsewhere rested on the excess of favors showered by the king on the clergy. He permitted, indeed, during all his life the princes of the empire to share by word and deed in all the affairs of the empire; hence the numerous imperial and provincial diets during his reign. It had long been the custom that the great fiefs of the empire—the dignity of Duke, the offices of Palgrave, Margrave, and Count—should pass from father to son, or at least remain in the family. King Henry made this custom a legal principle; he acknowledged the hereditability of the great lay fiefs of the empire. By this acknowledgment a concession was made to the higher temporal aristocracy which was of great importance for them, and which became fatal to the power of the crown.

Although Henry II. gave the princes of the empire a share in the government, and made his conclusions in imperial affairs dependent on their resolutions, although by acknowledging the hereditary nature of the great fiefs he raised the power of the nobles as much as he depressed the power of the crown, nevertheless the lay princes and lords were hostile to Henry II. because he favored the princes of the Church even more than the temporal princes. Not merely from his own private domains, but also from the domains of the crown, he endowed bishoprics and abbeys with a liberality which even the clergy found so extraordinary that they named it "incomparable," as being greater than that of any German or non-German potentate. He was thus lavish not merely to gain in the princes of the Church a support against the lay grandees, but to please Cunigunde and from the impulse of his own heart.

He had once a great desire to become a monk, fasted much, went often on pilgrimages to holy places, and spent freely in collecting relics of every kind. It was said that his ascetic principles withheld him from living as a husband with his beloved

Cunigunde ; charmingly beautiful as she was, "her girdle could still stand the ordeal." Cunigunde was so devoted to her domestic clergy, that to please her the king gradually filled up all the vacant episcopal and archiepiscopal sees with his domestic chaplains. He who submissively revered the Church and her commands, and endowed with lavish hand convents and sees, was so weak in the presence of Cunigunde as to violate a fundamental law of the Church, and one of her most important privileges, a right established by solemnly published documents. Freedom of election, that is, the right to elect the bishop or archbishop, had been assured by documentary grants from German kings and emperors to many of the ecclesiastical foundations. These grants Henry disregarded, and, in place of allowing the cathedral chapters to choose their own rulers, he sent to them clergy of his household, to gratify his wife, and in the belief that he would have political support from such ecclesiastical princes.

The Church closed her eyes to this violation of the right of election to sees and abbacies as long as Henry II. lived. She overlooked them because the high Church dignitaries were mere creatures of the court, and because the increase of wealth and power which Henry bestowed on the Church closed her lips.

No German king, before or since, had given so many countships to bishops and abbeys either as fiefs or in fee. And these were mostly taken from the districts where he met most opposition, the Saxon districts.

It is clear, from what we have stated, why King Henry and Cunigunde were not supported by the lay nobles in their chase after the Roman imperial crown.

The relations of the German empire to Italy and the campaigns of King Henry II. beyond the Alps were still more inglorious than those in the days of Otto III.

A few weeks after the death of Otto III., on the 15th of February, 1002, the national party in Italy had elected the Marquis Arduin of Ivrea, a grandson of King Berengar II., as king of Italy. In the spring of 1004, King Henry II., with a considerable army, crossed the Alps, and, by employing the means which had obtained for him the German crown, induced the clerical and lay nobles to elect him king of Lombardy. Archbishop Arnulf of Milan, the leader of the German party, crowned him king of Italy. But on the evening of his coronation day such a conflict burst forth in Pavia between the Italian party and the German troops that the emperor, beleaguered by the people hostile to foreign rule, only escaped from his palace by leaping from the window. The Germans could find no other means of defending themselves from the hail of darts and stones hurled by the insurgents than in setting fire to the houses from which the missiles came. Soon a great part of Pavia was in flames. Thousands, old men, women, and children, as well as men in arms, found death in the conflagration; the German soldiery, who were victorious, played such havoc in the sacked capital of Lombardy that the hate of the Italians against the Germans burnt fiercer than ever, and King Henry crossed the Alps homeward, while Arduin was again king of Lombardy.

Henry and Cunigunde, on account of strife at home, had to delay their second

journey to Italy till the year 1013. When in the spring of 1014 German troops descended the Alps to Italy, they were almost entirely troops furnished by the bishops; still, they were so numerous that King Arduin retreated into his castles; King Henry and Cunigunde reached Rome, and were crowned emperor and empress by Pope Benedict VIII. on the 14th of February, 1014. But the dislike of the Romans broke out on the 22d of February in Rome, in an insurrection which the Germans put down only with difficulty and heavy loss. The newly-crowned emperor hastened to quit Italy and Rome, and place in security the money he had gathered there. He had indeed been adorned with the Iron Crown of Lombardy and the diadem of the empire, but they were crowns without power, titles without authority. The cities and great vassals in Upper Italy paid no regard to him; in Lower Italy the Greeks, Saracens, and the newly-settled Normans continued to gain territory and power.

The second campaign of Henry had cost so much life, and had so clearly placed before every eye the impossibility of the union of Germany and Italy after such experience as they had had of Italian national hatred, that not only public opinion in Germany was despondent over these expeditions, but even Henry's court-prelate, Ditmar of Merseburg, writes: "These expeditions ought to cease; the nature of the climate and of the population is to be avoided by our people; much treachery exists in Rome and Lombardy. Little love is shown to Germans who go thither. Even what is bought is not safe; many Germans have died of poison stealthily mixed with their purchases."

In 1020, the aggressions of the Greek empire in Lower Italy forced Pope Benedict VIII. to fly to Henry II. at Bamberg; he there consecrated in person the Church of St. Stephen. This bishopric of Bamberg (Babenberg, the root of the Babenberg stem) had been founded by Henry amid critical circumstances; his heart was set on it, because Cunigunde and he preferred it as a residence. In the joy of his heart that the Pope had done him this honor, he was induced to make another expedition to Italy. He was again in that land in the December of 1021. A considerable army—it is said to have been 60,000 strong—accompanied him, but no lay prince of the German empire, and only four ecclesiastical princes, were with it. So great was the repugnance of the princes to that grave of the Germans, Italy.

The army marched quickly to South Italy, to the joy of Lombardy and Rome. The strong towns of Troja, Capua, and Salerno surrendered to the emperor—Troja after a siege of thirteen weeks. Then came the hot season, and the diseases fatal to the sons of the North. The infectious diseases raged so in the German army that the emperor brought out of the evil land and over the Alps but weak fragments of the 60,000 men who had entered Italy; on German territory, not merely many of the army died, but they infected the population through which they passed; they introduced death to their native land. All around the Lake of Constance and in all Swabia the infection spread, and death bit deep into Franconia and all the regions where men from Italy had come. Even two of the ecclesiastical princes—Rudhard,

bishop of Constance, and Burkhard, abbot of St. Gall, died on their way homeward from the "plague," as the Germans named the disease.

Four years of Henry's reign passed without any imperial rule over Italy; in Germany he had only one success—namely, that King Rudolf III. of Arles, lord of the two united Burgundian kingdoms, and uncle of the emperor, acknowledged his nephew as protector and sole heir of the Burgundian realm.

The "Father of the Monks," as Henry was called even in his lifetime, suffered in later years from the falling sickness and many bodily ailments. On the 13th of July, 1024, he died at Grona, near Göttingen, in the fifty-second year of his age, and childless. One hundred and twenty-two years after his death he was declared a saint by the Pope. Cunigunde, too, was enrolled among the saints. She died nine years after him, and was buried by his side in the cathedral of Bamberg.

He was the last king of the Saxon house. His incapacity and weakness had produced in the German empire confusion and internal strife, and weakness towards external foes. His errors continued to affect prejudicially the German future. He had sought for a support for the royal power in a wrong direction. To seek and to find the one true support for the crown, the support of the people, citizen or peasant, he was too much an aristocrat, and too much a bigot by nature and education. Not merely the last plague and the last Italian expedition, but previously the ceaseless feuds, confusions, and wars, had lamentably diminished the population of Germany. Even the fruitful and pleasant regions between Culmbach, Anspach, and Coburg, of which Bamberg is the centre, the banks of the Upper Main and the Rednitz, were so depopulated that but few remained of the Franconians or of the North Saxon settlers; the rest of the inhabitants were Slaves, weak and poor, and the soil, once so well tilled, was neglected and gone to ruin. But in after years, by the influence of the Church of Bamberg, which reared itself over the tombs of Henry and Cunigunde, both soil and people again came to flower and fruit.













